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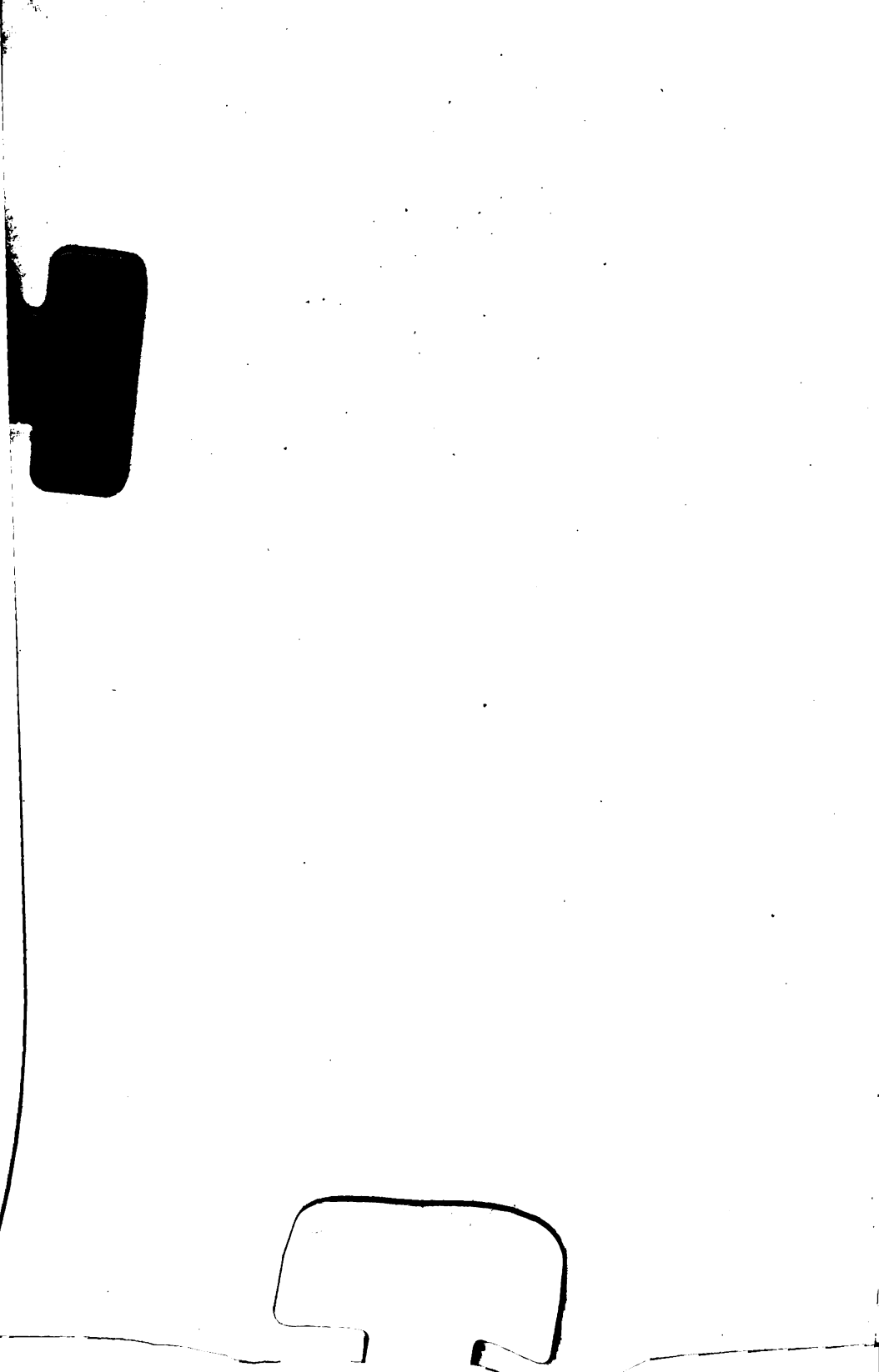

Oxford Historical Society
VOL. XLVI

OXFORD SILVER PENNIES

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

A HOARD FROM GOTLAND

Frontispiece

OXFORD
SILVER PENNIES

FROM

A.D. 925—A.D. 1272

DESCRIBED BY

C. L. STAINER, M.A.

WITH FIFTEEN PLATES

OXFORD
PRINTED FOR THE OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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REFERENCES

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PREFACE

IN these few pages I have attempted to describe all the Oxford silver pennies that are known to me, with a view to illustrating the general character of the local currency down to the end of the reign of Henry the Third. Not that our Oxford money was in any way remarkable. On the contrary, it merely stood side by side with the other provincial issues, helping to complete the national currency. For that reason it may seem to some of my readers that the attention here given to it is more than is necessary. But I think they will see that it is difficult to treat the subject at all if not fully. A few short lists of types and names, with references to works which many do not possess or have no time to consult, might have been sufficient, but they would have been meaningless to most members of the O. H. S., especially if there had been no illustrations. The Oxford mint is considered by some to be a rare one, and it was this fact that led me originally to take note of such pennies as occurred from time to time. The result shows the mint to have had a very much larger issue than was thought, and as no year seems to pass without fresh material coming to light, I use the word 'illustrate' advisedly. Probably most of the 'types' are represented here, but the book would never have appeared if it had been decided to delay it until all the different pennies of each type were included. We cannot tell, of course, what finality there may be in such a case, but the book is sufficient to illustrate the series, and as an attempt to do this somewhat fully I hope it will be regarded with leniency.

In reality the study of a local mint is not without interest. The history of Oxford before the Conquest happens to be dim, and this is one of many subjects to be pursued before we can form a general idea of the daily life of her burgesses in those early days. The mere gathering together of the moneyers' handiwork gives us a definite body of evidence, which points

to trade and order during long lapses of time under the careful eye of a central government. The continuity of local life in our national history asserts itself in no uncertain manner. The same moneyers, the same style and standard of penny, will be found in the reigns of Æthelræd and Cnut; no startling change can be noticed after the accession of William I. This may be quite obvious, but we are always forgetting it. Then, again, 'the growth and development of the central administration is clearly reflected in the coinage. From the reign of the Confessor downwards there is a regular decrease in the number of mint towns and moneyers. The former are steadily reduced to the more important towns and centres of trade, and the diminution in the number of the latter doubtless is of the same character[1].' This process of survival helps us to estimate the importance of our own city, which can also be gauged by comparing the results obtained in this book with the work of other mints. Here we must not forget that an historian boasted, that at the earliest moment 'when its academic history can be said to open, at the arrival of the legist Vacarius in the reign of Stephen, Oxford stood in the first rank of English Municipalities.' We are also led of necessity to inquire into that central system and to admire the cleverness of the bonds between central and local administration, which is the basis of constitutional government. This seems to me to be particularly noticeable in the English monetary system, and it enables us to understand under what conditions our Oxford moneyers worked. Another result of gathering these pennies together is that we are provided with a valuable list of personal names, many of which cannot be obtained from contemporary documents. It will be possible to produce evidence as to the status of some of these men, and to show that most of them were without doubt leading citizens of their time. Lastly, there is the romantic side of the question. Oxford pennies have been scattered far and wide, thrown up by the sea on the Isle of Skye, found in Ireland, unearthed in Rome, frequently discovered in Gotland or on the shores of the Baltic. Even at home they have been grubbed up by children,

[1] 'The Coinage as affected by the administration of Henry II,' by A. E. Packe, 1895, *Num. Chron.*, Vol. XV, p. 55.

clenched triumphantly in little fists, and thrown about as buttons. It is not the least interesting part of the business to wonder how they got where they were found, or what their wanderings may mean. In fact the subject is not intensely dull. Pennies merely stared at tell you nothing, but taken with a wide range of other subjects and treated sympathetically they can break silence and prove quite interesting. I propose, then, briefly to touch upon such points as may be likely to occur to my readers, at the same time avoiding any lengthy inquiry such as would concern the national coinage rather than the local mint.

First, then, as to the practice of prefacing numismatic books with a summary of contemporary history. In this case it would add largely to the size of the volume owing to the length of time covered, and also it would result in a great deal of unnecessary repetition. The *Early History of Oxford* has already been issued by the Oxford Historical Society. Briefly, antiquarian fancies and mythical history do not concern us. The earliest period to which we need look back is that of King Æthelred I and Ælfred his brother. During the Viking incursions we have no evidence that Oxford was in any way affected, and the peace of Wedmore divided the country in such a way that the city was well within the district assigned to West-Saxon rule. There are doubts and possibilities here, however, that prove interesting when we come to discuss some of the early Oxford pennies. In the succeeding reign, that of Eadward the Elder, Oxford is mentioned for the first time. We learn from the Chronicle that in A. D. 912 died Æthelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Eadward took possession of London and of Oxnaford and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto. This closes probably a chapter of Oxford history, at the beginning of which the city had enjoyed the position of a Mercian border-town. So that the reign of Æthelstan, in which our series of pennies begins, finds Oxford merged in the West-Saxon kingdom, which had been developing into the kingdom of England.

From this reign, then, and onwards we will try to consider the relative importance of Oxford as one of the mint-towns.

Very little information can be got from existing documents it is true, but there are other methods by which we can arrive at a fairly safe opinion. The first piece of evidence is merely negative, and consists of a list in the Laws of King Æthelstan:—

'In Canterbury VII. moneyers; IV. the king's, and II. the bishop's, I. the abbot's.
At Rochester III.; II. the king's, and I. the bishop's.
At London VIII.
At Winchester VI.
At Lewes II.
At Hastings I.
Another at Chichester;
At Hampton II.
At Wareham II.
At Exeter II.
At Shaftesbury II.
Else, at the other burgs I.'[1]

Oxford is not mentioned by name, and is reckoned among the 'other burgs,' with *one* moneyer. Here a difficulty arises at once. If the Æthelstan pennies included in this book are rightly attributed to Oxford, then there are eight moneyers, seven of whom are mentioned on pages 1 and 3, and the eighth in the Additional Notes. There is, it is true, sufficient time for them to have succeeded one another, but at first sight it seems difficult to reconcile these two pieces of evidence. Perhaps the Laws belong to an early part of the reign, and the number of moneyers in Oxford afterwards increased with growing prosperity. In any case it is clear that there were then several mint-towns in England of greater importance than Oxford. A period of much obscurity follows. At present there seem to be no Oxford pennies of Eadwig, a failing which may be remedied by the discovery of hoards, and there is not sufficient material from the other reigns by which to make any useful comparison. This brings us to the reign of Æthelræd II, in whose Laws we read, 'Et ut monetarii pauciores sint quam antea fuerint; in omni summo portu III, et in omni alio portu sit unus monetarius[2].' Here we have no names whatever, and

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 88.
[2] Ibid. p. 129.

the same difficulty arises when we compare the law with the facts. The two earliest types, B. M. Type II, var. *a* and var. *d*, page 14, are struck by one and by three moneyers; but all the other types are struck by more than three, even if such names as Æthelmær and Ælfmær are assumed to be the same. Perhaps these Laws also were issued in the early part of the reign, and some great national event, such as the necessity of buying off the Danish invaders, involved an increase of moneyers. The evidence afforded by the number of Oxford pennies during this reign would appear to show that the city had risen to a more important position. Speculation, however, is not very satisfactory, so we will turn to another method, that of counting the different pennies in Hildebrand's Catalogue of the great National Collection at Stockholm and presenting the results in tabular form. This result may be quite accidental, but as the pennies have come from many finds, they are likely enough to give an average, from which a fair conclusion can be drawn.

	Æthelræd II.	Cnut.	Harold I.	Hartha-cnut.	Edward Confessor.	Total.
London .	1003	1010	262	46	196	2517
Lincoln .	400	386	125	20	114	1045
York . .	406	443	92	2	77	1020
Winchester	315	211	52	14	36	628
Stanford .	148	149	57	10	39	403
Thetford .	151	107	30	4	26	318
Chester .	99	150	39	6	20	314
Exeter . .	166	69	17	12	9	273
Canterbury	130	73	29	7	28	267
Norwich .	110	99	26	4	21	260
Oxford . .	61	58	26	11	21	177
Cambridge	80	74	10	2	8	174
Dover . .	50	68	16	4	7	145
Lewes . .	73	33	7	2	9	124

The totals for other towns are: Hampton 117, Wallingford 112, Ipswich 105, Gloucester 102, Hereford 100, Bath 97, Ilchester 97, Colchester 95, Huntingdon 92, Shaftesbury 76, Hastings 56, Chichester 55, Rochester 55, and Wareham 46. I leave out the various smaller or occasional mint-towns, and also take this opportunity of noting that the Edward the

Confessor pennies mostly belong to the first half of his reign. From this table it would appear that Oxford stood among the first dozen of English cities or at least not very far outside. Obviously the country had very much changed since the days of Æthelstan. Rochester is now low down in the list, whilst Lewes, Hampton, and Shaftesbury have all declined. Interesting too it is to observe how entirely the Stockholm pennies come from the eastern part of England, London, Lincoln, and York, showing the direction of trade and wealth, though Winchester still holds a foremost place. At the risk of being tedious I add yet another table showing the actual number of pennies in two great hoards, found in England, covering the reigns of Henry II–III. It will be noticed that the Colchester hoard was nearly twice the size of the Eccles hoard, yet the proportion of pennies in the latter is much the same.

	Eccles Hoard.	Colchester Hoard.
London	2,643	5,096
Canterbury	2,278	4,122
St. Edmundsbury	212	457
Winchester	142	247
York	96	153
Lincoln	58	100
Northampton	105	67
Norwich		55
Exeter	19	48
Chichester	31	34
Ipswich	18	34
Carlisle	15	21
Durham	22	21
Oxford	13	21

On the whole this seems to confirm the opinion formed previously. Oxford still holds the position it held before the Conquest, that is to say, if not within the first dozen cities it does not stand very far outside. But this last method is more uncertain, for it includes all the pennies struck from the same dies, whereas the previous table included only one penny from each die. And there we will leave it.

What, next, can be said about the position of the moneyer? The early law, that no man mint except within port, suggests that he must have been a local man. But this has been

challenged, owing to the fact that certain moneyers' names are found at the same time in a large number of mint-towns. Hence the suggestion that they may have been itinerant officials, halting here and there to provide the needs of the district, or perhaps have been in attendance on the King during his travels. The last suggestion is overruled by the fact that local moneyers were obliged by custom to strike for the King during his residence, so that he really had no need for moneyers among his attendants. And as to the former it is well to remember that early English names, such as Ælfwine, Godwine, Leofwine, or Wulfwine, were exceedingly common. We can realize this by looking at the names through several centuries not only on coins, but among witnesses to land grants. So that it certainly seems unnecessary to suppose that a Godwine at Dover, Lincoln, Exeter, or Gloucester, might be one and the same person. Such an arrangement would be quite inconsistent with the system of local control imposed by the central government, for, as we shall see later, the placing of a well-known local name on the reverse, together with the name of the mint-town, was intended as a guarantee of goodness and as a means of checking irregularities. It can be proved without difficulty that our moneyers were local citizens, and we may take it for granted that the pennies described in this book were actually struck within the city, as required by law.

How then did the moneyer stand as regards the State? The severity of the Anglo-Saxon laws has given rise to an idea that he was an obscure person of mean birth, at best a rogue. It is true that Æthelstan's Laws say 'that there be one money over all the King's dominion, and that no man mint except within port. And if the moneyer be guilty, let the hand be struck off with which he wrought that offence, and be set up on the money-smithy; but if it be an accusation, and he is willing to clear himself, then let him go to the hot-iron, and clear the hand therewith with which he is charged that fraud to have wrought[1],' and so on. And there are also later tales of moneyers being summoned to Winchester and horribly mutilated. The latter are mere tales, and

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 88.

the Laws are in accordance with the spirit of the time; giving like treatment to other offenders. They do not justify us in hastily assuming that a moneyer was so insignificant a person that he could be treated with tyrannical severity, as one outside the law. The truth is he was not only a worthy citizen, but he was also to a certain extent a royal officer as much as the reeve or the sheriff. He was legislated for and protected in many ways. First by drastic laws against false coiners. Thus in the Laws of King Cnut, 'and who after this shall make false, let him forfeit the hands with which he wrought that false, and not redeem them with anything, neither with gold nor with silver[1].' This may perhaps be the meaning of the previous law, but it does not involve any slur on the character of the moneyer proper, and aims at another class of man altogether. A further safeguard consisted in the very English method of giving his superior officers a sound reason for being interested in the excellence of the coinage and so acting as a check on any irregularity. 'And if any one accuse the reeve, that he [the moneyer] wrought that false by his leave, let him clear himself with a threefold "lād": and if the "lād" then fail, let him have the same doom as he who wrought the false[2]'; so say the Laws of King Cnut, repeating the Dooms of King Æthelræd. Now it is clear that the reeve would have very good reason for seeing that honest Oxford citizens were appointed, and that they had the necessary skill to carry out their business satisfactorily. The reeve himself, if a port-reeve is meant, dealt in the course of the year with many payments, which went to the King through the Sheriff, so that it was important also that he should not make any profit by debasing the currency. From the first our government seems to have fixed on this responsibility of the port or shire officials as a vital part of the business. In the *Dialogus de Scaccario* and elsewhere we can trace the increasing care and severity of the State in later days. The Sheriff had to attend in person at the Exchequer, and his account with the Crown was not settled until his money had been tested. At first the pennies seem to have been paid in by 'tale' or *numero*, which requires no explanation, or

[1] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 163. [2] Ibid.

possibly 'ad scalam,' in which case a presumed deficiency in weight was made good by paying sixpence extra on every counted pound. Neither of these methods, however, gave any indication of weight or fineness. Hence 'ad pensum,' the weighing of 240 pennies against a pound troy, in which sixpence was the allowance for deficiency, beyond which the Sheriff had to make good, or prove his case against the moneyer. Hence also combustio, or blanching, by which the money was tested as to fineness. This is described at length in the *Dialogus*, and is summarized in the following:—

'Besides the Sheriff and the Master of Assays with his subordinate, two other Sheriffs, nominated by the Treasurer, were present at the ceremony as witnesses. Together, this party repaired to the furnace, whither the Assayer had preceded them to make the necessary preparations. Arrived there, the coffer containing the trial librate was once more emptied and counted afresh by the expert, the rest standing by and watching his operations. When counted, the coins were thrown into the melting-pot, reduced to a liquid mass, and the dross skimmed off by the Assayer under the critical gaze of the officials and the Sheriffs, each side keen to note, on behalf of its conflicting interests, whether the metal were, on the one hand, insufficiently purified, or, on the other, over-refined by the negligence of the Melter. But, as a rule, the expert caught the pot from the charcoal at the exact juncture prescribed by the rules of his art, and emptied its contents into a vessel; which was carried there by the Master of Assays, accompanied by the rest of the party, before the Barons. If, however, the expert declared the Assay to have failed, or if the experiment were challenged by either party, the whole ceremony was gone through again, with another librate out of the surplus store, the Assayer, however, receiving no fresh fee in this case.

'In the upper Chamber of State, the silver bullion resulting from the Assay was weighed in the scale against a standard pound, and the loss by the fire made up by the Sheriff by throwing in sufficient pence out of the surplus in the Pyx to turn the scale. Thereupon the refined librate was put aside, endorsed with the name of the County to which it appertained,

together with a certificate of the number of pence which had been required to make up the loss by Assay; whereby it was established how many pence were to be deducted from every pound which the Farm contained before it could be allowed as "blanched," a deduction amounting on an average to five *per cent.* on the whole sum paid in, whether in cash or tallies[1].'

Thus it is that in the Pipe Rolls there occur now and again lists of *Combustiones.* For instance, 9 Henry II (A.D. 1162–1163), 'Combust. De Oxenefscr̃, . xxx . ß . 7 . vii. d̃.'; or, 11 Henry II (A.D. 1164–1165), 'Combust. de Oxenefordscr̃, . xxiii . ß.' The Sheriff paid these amounts extra on the total sum he paid into the Exchequer, before his payment was accepted. The description in the *Dialogus*, however, should not be accepted as free from difficulties. No mention, for instance, is made of the alloy, for which proper allowance must have been made.

The subject has only been referred to at length in order to show that an Oxford monetarius was never able to escape the sharp eye of the Exchequer, owing to the careful way in which the money paid in by the Sheriff was tested year by year. His handiwork lay in heaps before the Barons, and his name and the name of his city could be seen at a glance. Further, the system must have given the Sheriff a very close interest in seeing that the currency was kept to standard, and this could only have been done by securing moneyers of integrity and ability. Before leaving this it is only necessary to add that in the event of a moneyer being summoned the Exchequer had in the two processes described above, 'ad pensum' and 'combustio,' the means of dealing with him efficiently. Occasionally this ceremony of Assay would be ordered throughout the country apart from any complaint or accusation, and it survives to this day. An interesting description of an Assay[2] held in London in the twenty-seventh year of Henry III (1242–1243) shows us the size and importance of the jury and the solemnity of the occasion. This account has a special interest for us,

[1] *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls*, 1884, pp. 63, 64.

[2] App. B, Vol. III, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, edited by H. Hall, F.S.A., from MS. Hargrave 313.

for it concludes by giving the officials elected in the various mint-towns, amongst whom are our own :—

OXONIA

Monetarii — Henricus Simeonis.
Gaufridus de Stocwille.
Adam Feteplace.
Willelmus Sarsorius.
Custodes — Laurentius Whit.
Thomas sub Muro.
Walterus Aurivaber.
Iohannes Alegod.
Assaiatores—Radulphus Aurifaber.
Iohannes le Fleminge.
Clericus — Simon filius Rogeri.

The duties of the Assaiatores require no further explanation, but the description of the weights or standards used by them is harder to understand. Clearly the necessary weights were sent from London, after the pattern of those officially marked ('quodam quonio impressa') and placed 'in thesauro domini Regis apud Westmonasterium sub sigillo Majoris Londoniae.' Here, again, the later legislation seems to be merely following earlier traditions, for Æthelræd's Laws clearly say: 'Et ipsi qui portus custodiunt, efficiant, per overhirnessam meam, ut omne pondus sit marcatum ad pondus quo pecunia mea recipitur, et eorum singulum signetur, ita quod xv. ore libram faciant. Et custodiant omnes monetam, sicut vos docere praecipio, et omnes elegimus.' The Custodes mentioned above were *custodes cuneorum*, and thus would be additional safeguard against any improper use of the dies by unauthorized persons. Enough has now been said, I think, to show that the moneyer was well advised not to do wrong. He could not by any possibility hope to escape the vigilance of his own citizens, the county officials, and the State; unless indeed general corruption prevailed, as the writer of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* seems to suggest.

Still a few points require investigation. Did the Oxford moneyer make his own dies? It would add very much to the

interest of these pennies, needless to say, if it could be shown that they were the work of local craftsmen. Unfortunately there is hardly any material on which to base an opinion one way or the other. The changes in type show clearly enough that the designs came from a central authority, but the dies differ so much in style that they can hardly have been issued in this manner. Looking closely at the four pennies of the 'Bonnet' type for instance (PL. XI, 2–5), it will be seen that they vary in execution considerably. Much greater uniformity might be expected reasonably from a central engraving department. Such a department, moreover, could not have been a small affair, able to escape notice. On the other hand Domesday, though silent about Oxford, makes a remark about Worcester, which seems to point the other way: 'Quando moneta uertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad lundoniam pro cuneis accipiendis.' A similar statement occurs under Hereford, and we are left to decide for ourselves what it means, whether these two cities are recorded as exceptions, or whether we may take it for granted that all provincial monetarii made like payments. Domesday is evidently the work of many hands, and the absence of information, which may or may not have existed already in London, should not be taken seriously. No doubt all the provincial moneyers paid fees 'ad lundoniam' when a new type was issued, the general fee being apparently twenty shillings. What did they receive in return, dies or merely patterns? Here we will look at the reverse process, namely the return of the dies to London. A copy of a writ, sent to the Oxford moneyers in the reign of King John, still exists, and is well worth reproducing:—

'Rex ℞c oñib3 monetariis ℞ examinatoribus monete ℞ custodib3 cuneo4 Lond' salt'. Precipimus vob q̃d sic̃ vos ℞ ñra diligitis statim visis litt'is istis signetis sigill ñris oñs cuneos v̄ros ℞ sitis cum ill apd Westm̄ a c̄stino Sci Dionis in xv. dies audituri ꝑceptū ñrum. Et faciatis scire oñib3 opatorib3 monete de civitate v̄ra ℞ eis qui sciūt dare cōsilium ad faciend' monetā q̃d tūc sint ibi nob̄cum ℞ h̄eatis ibi has litt'as. T̃. D̃no P̃. Wintoñ Ẽpo apd Westm̄. vij die Octob̄.

'Sub eadem forma sc'bit oñib3 monetariis ℞ examinatorib3 monete ℞ custodib3 cuneo4 Wintoñ, Exoñ, Cicestr̄, Cantuar̄,

Roffã, Gipeswič, Norwič, Lenñ, Linč, Eborač, Carduĺĺ, Norhẽ, Oxoñ, Sči Edmunď, Dunelm̃[1].'

Does this throw any light on the authorship of the dies? The words are *cuneos vestros*, not *nostros*, as we should expect if they were officially issued from London; and observe that those who can give advice 'ad faciendam monetam' are also required to attend. Perhaps, however, the writ should not be interpreted too strictly; the important point is that the dies were to be returned, probably in order that they might be broken up. Whether this was the rule in earlier times it is impossible to say. The existence of 'mules,' that is to say pennies with the reverse of a new type and the obverse of the preceding type, proves that the moneyer could retain them and even use them in the intervals between new issues, but doubtless it was to his own interest to see that they were destroyed eventually. On the whole these questions remain shrouded in doubt, even if we admit the position claimed for the King's goldsmith in post-Conquest days. He may have made dies in London; but the evidence refers to the very close of the long period under consideration, when the process of centralization was being completed, and we still remain in the dark as to what may have happened before.

Having referred briefly to the conditions and restrictions which were imposed by the State on an Oxford moneyer, there is yet a question or two. Where did he work? Was there a mint in the city, a central building, where all the moneyers kept their tools and coined? It is usual to talk of the Oxford Mint, but this expression really means nothing more than that certain pennies bear the name of the city. There seem to be no references to a building or to any such officer as would be likely to take charge of it. The Laws deal directly with the moneyers, and each one no doubt had his money-smithy in the house that best suited him.

Then, again, why is Oxford called a Royal Mint, as though it differed in any way from others? The phrase results from a great deal of loose writing and guesswork that has been allowed to pass in recent years. Enough has been said to show that the English monetary system had a proper place in

[1] Patent Roll (Chancery) 9 John, m. 5, Record Office.

the administrative system during our period, which of necessity made every mint a royal one. From the time when the Archbishops' names disappeared from the obverse of their silver pennies royal control became complete. There was no such thing as a private mint, except in the lawless times of King Stephen. The Laws of Æthelstan and Edgar lay it down that there be *one* money over all the King's dominion, and those of Æthelræd II say, 'And let no man have a moneyer, except the King.' It is only necessary to look at the pennies in the national collections to see that these laws were observed; for the authority of the King through the Exchequer compelled observance. Looking at the list of mints, which follows the writ of King John, already quoted (p. xviii), it will be noticed that it includes *every* city in England which struck Class III of the short-cross pennies. The names of the four cities, Ilchester, Lichfield, Shrewsbury, and Worcester, which are absent, have never yet been found on that type, though immense numbers of the others have come to light.

This is exactly what we should expect, if in fact all the provincial mints were directly under central control. The confusions which have arisen on this subject are largely due to the supposition that any grant of privilege was so much taken away from the King's authority exercised through his Exchequer. But in the legal system the existence of a local court side by side with a royal one in London made no division of private and public law. And in the monetary system the existence of an earl's or bishop's moneyer side by side with the King's moneyer made no division either, and was quite compatible with the law that all moneyers were the King's. The privilege was partly honorary and partly for convenience, ensuring that these men, connected with vast estates, should have no difficulty in securing the King's currency without delay. They secured, however, no further profit, nor any voice in the system; and even if the King cared to grant away portions of his profit, the integrity of the monetary system was still preserved. Thus Henry I placed one of his moneyers in London regularly at the service of the Abbot of Reading. Ordgar, this London moneyer, struck Type XIV, Hawkins 262, both with and without the scallop-shell on the reverse, showing

that he still remained a royal moneyer, only executing provincial work as required. In the same way a king might place one of his moneyers at Stamford at the service of the Abbot of Peterborough. Abbots or earls who received these privileges had no responsibility for the coinage or influence over it; the moneyer and his work remained royal and subject to the State. Naturally the existence of a mint in any particular district was of great advantage to trade, but it must be remembered that then, as now, money was coined not for amusement but as it was wanted. When the trade of a district declined the mint was taken away, having died a natural death. Consequently these grants were local and not personal. This is quite sufficient to account for the non-appearance of certain types at some mints, even if we do not take into consideration the great extent to which the Exchequer blanched current money and the private individual had it recoined. But we can hardly be certain even now that hoards will not reveal the missing types. I mention this because of the theory lately broached—that the appearance or not of certain types was due to the presence or absence of some important baron. Here the 'chartered' mint idea runs wild. It ignores the fact of demand and supply in currency, brushes aside the officials who, as we have seen, were responsible to the Exchequer, and sets up a tyrannical interference entirely inconsistent with the development of our constitutional government, as at present understood. Oxford then may be called a 'royal' mint, if you please, but not so as to imply that it differed in any way from the other provincial mints.

It seems unlikely that any profit rewarded an Oxford moneyer. My own view is that the whole of the profits, after payments for services and expenses, belonged to the Crown, and that the annual and occasional payments to the Exchequer equalled these profits. What is certain is that large annual payments had to be made by the moneyers as *firma*, and that occasional payments *extra firmam* were made when the type was changed, to say nothing of fines imposed perhaps by the Exchequer for offences. Thus Domesday says, 'Comitatus Oxeneford reddit firmam . . . de moneta xx. libras denariorum de xx^{ti} in ora.' Leicester pays the same amount

'de monetarijs,' so that it is probably right to regard the previous passage as referring to the mint, though one or two editors have translated it as if it meant only a cash payment as contrasted with the other payments in kind which are estimated by money value. Beyond this Domesday is silent as regards the Oxford moneyers, but the rule seems to have been that each moneyer paid in addition, 'quando moneta vertebatur,' a sum of twenty shillings or thereabouts, which was 'extra firmam,' as we are told in the Customs of Chester. Very little further information can be obtained even from the Pipe Rolls in later days, but here and there a passage is worth noting:—

'Id̄ vīc Redd̄. Comp̄. de xiiii. l̄. de Monet̄ de Oxinef. In th̄. xi. l̄. 7. vi. s̄. 7 viii. d̄.

'Et In p̄dōn. p̄ b̄r R̄. Eisd̄ Monet̄. Liii. s̄. 7 iiii. d̄

Et Quiet⁹ est[1].'

Or again:—

'Id̄ vic̄ redd̄ Comp̄ de q̄t̄r. xx. m̄ de Burgo de Oxiñ 7 de Monet̄.

In th̄ lib̄auit. Et Q. . . .[2]'

Or:—

'Adam Monet̄ redd̄ Comp̄ de .i. m̄. p̄p̄ prop̄sturam

In th̄o lib̄auit. Et Quiet⁹ est[3].'

But beyond these few entries there is nothing, and the general silence leads us to suppose that everything worked with smoothness and regularity. Returning to the question of profit however, the cost of coining, which included tools or sub-operarii, and the payments to the State, could have left little or nothing for the moneyer, even if he were entitled to receive it. Then again, whatever time he gave to this duty was of necessity taken from the time he could give to his own business, a very serious matter for a prosperous merchant. Hence it is not very surprising to meet with the following, quoted by Madox:—

'Walterus le Lingedrapier r. c. de v marcis, quia noluit facere

[1] Great Roll of the Pipe for the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1158–1159. Pipe Roll Soc. Series, p. 35.

[2] Ibid. 7 Henry II (A.D. 1160–1161).

[3] Ibid. 21 Henry II (A.D. 1174–1175).

monetam Domini Regis; In thesauro ij marcæ, Et debet iij marcas [1].'

This worthy Oxford citizen objected, possibly for the reasons suggested, perhaps because afraid of the stringent conditions attached to the office. The record of his fate, however, has an additional interest, proving that the duty of coining was one that could not be refused without penalty. It shows the official character of the work, one of those many necessary duties imposed on cities by the Crown, from which they were always anxious to shake themselves free. In alluding to the changing of the dies it should have been said that this occurred as nearly as possible every two years, so that the charges in this respect were considerable. A new type did not displace the previous currency, payment being accepted at the Exchequer both in old and new money [2]. In the hoards it is not unfrequent to find from three to five types, or those of different Kings. The natural wish of the private person to have the newest money, which is most easily current, and the system at the Exchequer were sufficient to prevent any abuse in this direction.

As regards the weights of the pennies included in this book the Tower Pound, which has come down to us, is usually regarded as the standard. It is equal to 5400 gr. Troy, which makes 240 pennies, each pennyweight being 22½ grains or 1·458 grammes. It should be noticed, however, that the early pennies belong to a much higher standard, and that those from the reign of Cnut to the middle of the reign of Edward the Confessor belong to a much lower standard. The Laws of Æthelræd, already referred to, order 'quod xv ore libram faciant,' and if we interpret literally the Domesday remark about Oxford 'lx libras ad numerum de xx^{ti} in ora,' this would give 300 pennies to the pound instead of 240, making the pennyweight 18 grains or 1·166 grammes. This agrees completely with the weights of the Oxford pennies during the greater part of the reigns of Cnut, Harold, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor, especially if allowance is made for wear or the legal minimum. Subsequently to this I suppose

[1] *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, 1711, p. 389 (Mag. Rot. 29 Henry II).

[2] See Pipe Rolls Series.

the Tower standard to have come into force. The metal should always be 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine silver to 18 dwts. of alloy. The results arrived at in weighing these pennies are often very interesting, even though the pennies were clipped probably by shears and were never intended to challenge the accurate weighing-machines of the present day. From the Tealby hoard 50 pennies were weighed separately and each balanced 22 grains; 900 were weighed against 900, and the difference was only 2 grains, and so on. In the present book I have only given the weights of those in good condition, for it is by these alone that one is able to judge the standard fairly.

The various contractions such as MO or MON stand for Moneta or Monetarius. If 'Moneta' on the pennies of Eadmund and Eadgar is the full word, then it would seem to mean Reingrim's money or Æthelwine's money; the names of some moneyers are put actually in the genitive. The later word ON simply means 'in' Oxford, and the two are often used together. The pellets, which I have been careful to reproduce, may possibly be moneyer's private marks to note the order of the dies or for purposes of identification, but so far I have never been able to reduce them to any system.

Something must now be said about the names of the Oxford moneyers contained in this volume. The curious habit of merely giving the Christian name makes it exceedingly difficult at this distance of time to identify these citizens. The same system prevails in the documents of the period, a man being usually described as Johannes aurifaber or Henricus carpentarius, and so on, this being quite sufficient to distinguish him in his locality. Now and again, however, definite proof occurs that this John or Henry had a surname after all, and it requires little investigation of a book such as the *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide* to suspect that many of those indexed apart are one and the same person. Beginning at the end of the present volume for the sake of convenience, we find four moneyers of the last type of Henry III. They are Adam, Gefrei, Henri, and William. Without any other help it would be impossible to identify these among the crowd of names at our disposal. Fortunately that help is

forthcoming in a list in the Red Book of the Exchequer, already noticed on p. xvii. There they are called Adam Feteplace, Gaufridus de Stocwille, Henricus Simeonis, and Willelmus Sarsorius. Of the good position of Adam Feteplace there can be no doubt; his name frequently occurs in contemporary documents. Drapere Hall was one of his properties, according to Wood, and he left '40s annuall rent issuing thence to the nuns of Littlemore, to the intent that his anniversary should be kept, on the translation of St. Frideswyde, there[1].' Shelde Hall, 'in St. Peter's in the Est, sometimes the tenement of Adam Feteplace[2],' was also left by him to the nunnery. He was several times Mayor of Oxford[3], and no doubt one of the founders of the well-known family that bears his name.

Galfridus de Stocwille (or Stockwell) was a member of another famous Oxford family, 'who, as they were in their times wealthy people and devout to the Church and poore, soe likewise [were] of great esteeme and bore the publick offices of this corporation in the raignes of Richard I, King John, Henry III, and Edward I[4].' Stockwell Mede was so called after our moneyer, according to Wood[5], and no doubt Stockwell Street and other places took their names either from him or his family. He was Mayor of Oxford more than once[6]. Henricus Simeonis is sometimes called Henry Simeon, but more usually Henricus filius Simeonis. His name occurs frequently among the witnesses to local deeds, and he also must be reckoned among the wealthy and devout. He was one of the two Praepositi of Oxford (before the office of Mayor was made) in the reign of King John[7]. He had a son Henry, who is usually called Henricus f. Henrici f. Simeonis, so that I think there can be no confusion, though the father

[1] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., Vol. I, p. 221.
[2] Ibid., p. 523.
[3] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 7, 10, and *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, O. H. S.
[4] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., Vol. I, pp. 365, 366.
[5] Ibid., p. 462.
[6] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 9, and *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, O. H. S., Vol. I, p. 325, and All Saints' deeds of the Hospital of St. John at Magdalen College.
[7] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., Vol. III, p. 4.

must have been an old man at this time. I have little doubt that he is also the Henri who is a moneyer of Class III, short-cross pennies of King John, p. 80.

Of William Sarsorius I have not much information. He is evidently the same person as William le Saucer, who was Mayor of Oxford about A. D. 1258–1259, and signs in that capacity to a deed (St. Aldate, 49) of the Hospital of St. John, now among the muniments of Magdalen College. His signature also appears in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide.*

Here, then, are four moneyers, who all appear to have held at one time or another the highest official position in the city. This perhaps should encourage us to look among the names of the leading citizens, the Kepeharmes, Toralds, Halegods, Burewolds, and others. But even so nothing very definite can come from what must at the best be mere guesswork. Helis (p. 82) may have been a member of another well-known Oxford family, de Pyrie, or Pery, connected with Pery and Wormingshall, benefactors of Osney and St. Frideswide. At the same time, however, there seem to have been several citizens bearing the christian name Elias or Helias. Miles remains in obscurity unless he was 'the Draper,' but Henry is no doubt Henricus Simeonis again. Ailwine is almost certainly Ailwin or Eilwin le Turnour or Turnur, who was one of the bailiffs of the city, if not Praepositus. His family held property in St. Peter-in-the-East, and his name is frequently met with in the documents now in the possession of Magdalen College.

Next come the moneyers of Class I of the short-cross pennies (p. 79). Asketil, or Anketil as it is often written, occurs occasionally in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide.* From the *Sandford Cartulary*[1] we get a small clue as to the identity of this particular man, for he signs himself 'Aschetillo fil Radi monet.' Iefrei may possibly be Galfridus Aurifaber, but his surname, if he had one, remains unknown to me. It seems too early for Geofrey de Stocwell already mentioned. Owein is no doubt Owanus, Audoenus, noted by Wood as one of the Praepositi of this city. He was, if I am not mistaken, father of Robert Owen, and grandfather of Henry Owen, well-known citizens. Rodbert remains unknown to me; he may be

[1] Wood MS. X. fol. 34 v., c. 1170.

a Burwold or a Kepeharm, but the name is very common. Ricard might possibly be Richard de Stockwell, the father of Geofrey, or a Richard Segrim; but here, again, the name is too common to make any guesses profitable. Sagar is perhaps the one who is mentioned in the conveyance of a messuage to Elias de Pyrie by Petrus palmarius and Agnes, Segari mercatoris, his wife[1]. The messuage is referred to as *quod Segarus mercator quondam tenuit;* Segar is mentioned elsewhere in the same Cartulary.

Turning to the first issue of Henry II (p. 78) there are three names only. The first, Adam, is no doubt the moneyer referred to in the Pipe Roll, 21 Henry II[2]. Perhaps he is the Adam Ruffus, noted by Wood as a Praepositus of the city. The incomplete name Asc ..... is probably Aschetil, and identical with Asketil. The last moneyer, Rogier, I should guess to be Roger filius Sewy, on account of the name appearing in the same roll with Adam, though he is not described as a moneyer.

As to the earlier names one cannot fail to be struck by their constant appearance in documents separated by long distance of time, thus showing their thoroughly local character.

Sweting occurs in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*[3], '*terram que fuit Willelmi f. Swetyng*,' and again in the list of houses granted to Oseney Abbey, by the charter of foundation in 1129[4]. It was this moneyer who struck Oxford pennies for the Empress Matilda. Sagrim, one of the moneyers of Henry I, possesses a name well enough known in Oxford. The Segrims occur constantly in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, and a good deal about them will be found in the early portions of the history of Pembroke College[5]. The name occurs in the Osney charter already mentioned, and also in Domesday; evidently a numerous and prosperous family. The Henricus filius Segrimi, noted by Wood as Praepositus about 1170, was very possibly a son of the Oxford moneyer.

[1] *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, O. H. S., Vol. I, p. 145.
[2] See p. xxii.
[3] Vol. I, p. 261.
[4] *Early History of Oxford*, O. H. S., p. 274, and see also 'Sweting Hall,' Wood's *City of Oxford*, Vol. I, p. 525.
[5] O. H. S., pp. 2–11.

Sawi, another moneyer of Henry I, also requires little introduction: the name is generally written Sewi or Sewy, and the family must have been numerous. Wood mentions a charter in the Register of Stodley, about 1190, which refers to the 'gate of Roger Sewi,' in this city[1]. This perhaps is the Roger, one of our moneyers, whom I have already guessed to be Roger filius Sewi, so that in all probability we have father and son carrying on the same office. The name appears in Domesday and most of our local documents; it survives in Sewy's Lane. Of Rawulf nothing profitable can be said. The name is common enough locally, and Wood notes, 'Anno 1134 or thereabouts: Iohannes filius Radulphi, Leofwyne le Wanter, praepositi Oxon'; the father of the first-named might be the very man. The only other moneyer of Henry I, mentioned in the text, is Æglnoth. No doubt the same name as Ailnoth, which appears here and there in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, John Ailnoth, Robert Ailnoth, and others nearly a century later. The Osney charter (dated 1129), previously referred to, mentions Aylnoth, in all probability our moneyer. This man appears to be called Reymundus Aylnoth, and no doubt the two names should be taken together, and the man be identified with the Reimundus noted by Wood as Praepositus of the city about 1150. Ailnoth Hall, later known as Haberdasher's Hall, was apparently his tenement: it was owned by Osney and stood 'somewhere about the site of the new entrance of Brasenose College[2].' Before leaving the reign of Henry I it should be noticed that an entry in the Abingdon Chronicle refers to land bought in Oxford by the Abbot, presumably in the early part of the reign. It mentions 'the land of Eadwin the moneyer and his brother[3].' No pennies have come to light, so far as I know, bearing the name of this moneyer either in this or the two preceding reigns. It seems probable that it is an ancient name handed on with the property as was so frequently the case, and it may be the Eadwi on p. 25; or it is possible that some moneyer in London or elsewhere held property in the city.

[1] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., Vol. I, p. 485.
[2] *Oxford Topography*, O. H. S., p. 176.
[3] *Early History of Oxford*, O. H. S., p. 264.

In the reigns of William I and II we have Æglwine and Ægelwi. There are names in Domesday such as Alwin and Alwi, which might be the same. It seems natural to suggest that the former was an ancestor of Ailwine the Turner, and that he also had some descent from the Ægelwine, moneyer of Harthacnut (see p. 44). Then the Osney charter, previously referred to, mentions 'Godwinus monetarius, Brythicus monetarius,' who may be our Godwine and Brihtred, and Domesday also mentions Brictred and Godwin. Anthony Wood notes under S. Edward Hall, 'Tenementum Godwyni monetarii, Aula Edwardi, 33*s*. 4*d*.,—soe an ancient rentall belonging sometimes to Osney; denoting it to be, in ancient time not long after the Norman Conquest, the tenement belonging to a minter and who perhaps at the foundation of that Abbey gave it thereto[1].' The tenement was afterwards conveyed to Christ Church by Henry VIII.

Ælfwi may perhaps be one of those called Alwi in Domesday. Wulfwi may be Wluui the Fisherman in the same list; later the Abbot of Abingdon purchased 'the land of Wlfwi the fisherman.' Of Brihtred I can discover nothing beyond the reference quoted above, and the name of Haregod is so completely absent in all documents that I am almost led to suspect it to be the same as Halegod, an important citizen family who gave their name to a lane and a hall in this city. Swetman alone has the distinction of being mentioned in Domesday as 'Suetman monetarius,' probably to distinguish him from the other Swetmans there mentioned. Some of these moneyers were at work also in the reigns of Harold II and Edward the Confessor.

Coming to the names before the Conquest, there is a grant of land to St. Alban's Abbey, which is of some interest; it reads, 'et Goduuinus praepositus ciuitatis Oxnafordi et Wulfwinus praepositus comitis et omnes ciues Oxanfordiensi[3].' Judging from the evidence already given as to the high position of our moneyers, this is very likely to be the Godwine, moneyer in the early part of the reign of Edward the Confessor.

[1] Wood's *City of Oxford*, Vol. I, p. 161.
[2] *Early History of Oxford*, p. 264.
[3] So in *Cod. Dipl.* IV. p. 285, date about 1050–2.

Godric, a contemporary of his, may be referred to in the charter of King Stephen[1], 'De terra cum molendino quam Godric tenuit viij*s.* viij*d.*,' and the name also occurs in the grant to Oseney Abbey[2] and Domesday. Leofwine is a common Oxford name and occurs frequently, one being noted by Wood as Praepositus about A.D. 1134. Of the other names it is only possible to show their local character by observing that they repeatedly reappear in Oxford even centuries afterwards, some of them continuing to the present day. Taking such a name as Ingelri in the reign of Æthelstan, for instance, we find in a charter of King Stephen some two centuries later, 'De terra quam Ingelry tenuit viij*d.*[3]' Now we meet with John Britwold, or elsewhere with Richard Coleman, and others; but this is a subject which would make large demands on space, and I have only made the previous remarks with the object of showing the evidence as to the position of moneyers and the interest that arises from the study of these names in such early times. Apart from these two points of view some of the early names, such as Rægenward, an official name that appears in 'Beowulf,' have a distinct interest on account of their form and meaning.

In leaving this subject I should like to call attention to the fact that in arranging the names at the head of each type I have refrained from any attempt at assuming some of them to be one and the same person. They may be, but serious difficulties eventually arise in the easiest paths, and having tried for myself I thought best to leave them alone. In the reign of Æthelred II, for instance, you find Æthelmær and Ælfmær, Æthelwine and Ælfwine. Are these two men or four? Taking the following, 'Æðeluuig meus praepositus in Bucingaham et Winsige praepositus on Oxonaforda[4],' dated A.D. 995 in the reign of King Æthelræd, it is interesting to note that the Stockholm Collection possesses a penny of that date by 'Ælfwi' monetarius at 'Bucci,' the first letters of Buccingaham. I am very much inclined to regard this name as a shortened

[1] *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, Vol. I, p. 19.
[2] *Early History of Oxford*, p. 274.
[3] *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, O. H. S., Vol. I, p. 19.
[4] *Cod. Dipl.*, Vol. VI, p. 128.

form of the other. Then there are several names in which a letter appears to be mute; Leofman and Leoman, Wulfwi and Wulwi, Ælfwi and Ælwi, Ælfwine and Ælwine. Each pair stands for one name only perhaps, but the difficulty arises when we propose to go further and assume the last two pairs to stand for one name only. Then there are a few names in which a letter is soft, thus Ægelwine and the later Ailwine are one and the same; but who is to say whether Æglwi is short for Ægelwine or Ægelwig, or whether Ælwi may not represent Ælfwig. Better then to leave them as we find them.

The origin of the name of Oxford has already been discussed in the *Early History of Oxford*, but a little repetition will doubtless be forgiven, seeing that the coins provide us with such a large number of readings. The earliest of these deserve some attention:—

Æthelstan, Ox. Vrbs. *Eadmund*, O, Ox. *Eadred*, O, Ox. Vrbs.
Eadgar, Oxna. *Eadweard II*, O-xna, O-xa.
Æthelræd II, Ox, Oxn, Oxna, Oxnaf, Oxnafo, Oxan, Oxen, On, Ona.
Cnut, Ox, Oxn, Oxa, Oxan, Oxe, Oxen, Oxena, Oxs, Oxse, Oxsen, Oxsena, Oxsenna, Oxsn, Oxsna, Oxsa, Oc, Ocx, Ocxe, Ocxen, Ocxene, Ocxn, Ocxa, Oexen, Onxen, Onxsena, Ocxc.
Harold I, O, Oxna, Oxan, Oxse, Oxcn, Oc, Ocx, Ocxe, Onx.
Harthacnut, Oxa, Oxan, Oxc, Ocxe, Ocxen, Ocxene, Ocxanafo, Oex, Oexe, Droxana, Occene, Coxe.
Edward the Confessor, Ox, Oxa, Oxan, Oxe, Oxen, Oxene, Oxenef, Oxenefo, Oxenefor, Oxna, Oxne, Oxnef, Oxnf, Oxenex, Oxenexfo, Ocx, Ocxa, Ocxe, Ocxen, Ocxene, Ocexenaf, Onxe, Onxenefo.
Harold II, Oxe, Oxenefo, Oxenfo.

These readings show, as has been observed before, that the sound 'Ox' is an essential element of the first half of the name Oxford, and they leave little room for doubt as to what that name means. The genitive plural of 'Oxa,' spelt in various ways, is compounded with 'ford,' and means the ford of the oxen. Other evidence helps us to carry the pedigree of the spelling still further back. We find Oxnaford mentioned

A.D. 912 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and in an early list of hides in England [1], about the end of the eighth century, we find 'To Oxeford.' The latter is a late copy as the spelling shows, but it is clearly made from an early document, and the scribe had no doubt about the name of our city, in spite of his other difficulties. The name then is plain enough, and it was used in connexion with a river which was known by the English both north and south of the city as the Temese. That at least seems to me to be proved beyond doubt by the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, and to dispose of all speculations as to whether the original form of the ford name was Ousanford or the like. The word Temese carries us back to classical times, and the question as to whether the last three letters are the same as Ouse to a still earlier period. This places such a large gap of time between a possible derivation and the English occupation of the country, and divorces us so completely from the facts of the ninth and tenth centuries that I can see little advantage in pursuing the subject. The English had no hesitation in using the Celtic names of rivers correctly when they needed them ; many examples could be quoted, but one quite close to Oxford will suffice. This is the river Eoc (now called Ock) at Abingdon. The charter [2] A.D. 955 beginning 'Ærest on eoccenforda' is interesting as showing us that name contemporary with Oxnaford, and I can see no reason for supposing any corruption in the latter one. There may, however, have been some confusion as to its meaning, for we cannot overlook the old English 'Oxn,' an arm-pit, which must have been obsolete in very early days. However that may be, our own ford was not the only one so called. A grant [3] of land at Brydancumbe, co. Wilts., A.D. 937, includes in its boundaries 'lang streames oþ oxnaford,' and Mr. Parker in his *Early History of Oxford* has noted another in Witley parish, Surrey. There are many fords in England named after animals, and the word 'Oxen' is not unfrequently compounded with gate, bridge, field, and so on [4]. In

[1] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Vol. III, p. 672.
[2] Ibid., p. 68.
[3] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 421.
[4] See *Early History of Oxford*, O. H. S.

all probability then the obvious derivation of the name Oxnaford is the correct one.

The list of readings given above deserves a little further attention. First, there is the reading 'Ox. Vrbs,' which seems to suggest that the ford-name had not yet become definitely attached to the city, which at one time must have been either the burh by the Oxenford or have possessed some other name. On the other hand, Vrbs may be attached to the name in the same way as Civitas is to that of other cities; and Civitas may be intended in the Cnut reading OCXC and the Harthacnut reading COXE. Then the reading 'Oexen' does not appear to be an error. It is so written as a gloss over 'boves' in an Anglo-Saxon psalter[1], and again in the Ecclesiastical Hymns. Another peculiarity is the strong tendency to place the letter 'n' before 'x.' Thus we have 'On Onxe' as late as the reign of Edward the Confessor, the same peculiarity appearing in the reigns of Eadweard II, Æthelræd II, Cnut, and Harold I. The change, which is a natural one, was helped no doubt by the word 'on' coming before, but in one or two cases it is difficult to decide what has happened. Thus in Cnut's reign we have 'Eadwi onxsena' and in Edward the Confessor's reign 'Ægelw.ion·xenefoi,' where the 'on' has either been dropped or, as is more likely, the first 'O' of Oxford has fallen out. I can offer no explanation of Droxana, if correctly read, nor of Oxenex: perhaps both are blunders. Doubtless the appearance of the letter 'c' as in Ocx, during the reign of Cnut and succeeding reigns, was due to Danish influence.

The 'Orsnaforda' pennies are not included in the text, and I shall deal very briefly with them here, for they also have been discussed at some length in the *Early History of Oxford*. Many years passed before they were assigned to this city, and the argument appears to be that they *must* be Oxford pennies until the contrary can be proved. No doubt the wish to assign an Ælfred coinage to this city, associated in legend with his name, is very praiseworthy, but one feels bound to wait for proof in the face of obvious difficulties. These coins appear to have been found in Lancashire only. In itself perhaps this would not be insuperable when we consider that

[1] Surtees Society, Ps. XLIX. 10 and Vol. II, p. 191.

Oxford pennies have been found far and wide, but the fact is significant when the character of the other coins found with them is recognized. The most famous of these finds was made at Cuerdale near Preston, and it included a large number of St. Eadmund pennies bearing moneyers' names which are seldom English and legends which are often very corrupt, a few of Ælfred Rex Doro type, some of the London and a number of the 'pall' types (B. M. Types XIV and XV), which also bear the name of Ælfred, together with a few other types. There can be no doubt whatever that the bulk of this hoard was a Viking coinage struck in the east and north of England sometime between A.D. 880 and 910. The 'pall' type in my opinion is distinctively Norse or Danish, and should never have been included, as it has been, in the West-Saxon series. The style alone should have been sufficient to show this, and the fact that many of the moneyers are the same as those on the types of St. Eadmund and Guthorm (Æthelstan II). The London type also is Danish. The Canterbury pennies have the same character, as can be seen by comparing them with those of the Northumbrian kings, Cnut or Siefred. The Orsnaforda pennies are mostly of the same type as those of Earl Sihtric[1], whilst some of a different type[2] bear the long cross on the reverse which is frequent on these northern issues. It is clear then that the Orsnaforda pennies do not belong to a West-Saxon coinage, and that an explanation of the legend should be sought by examining in the first place the legends of the pennies in whose company they were found. Looking at the Orsnaforda pennies described in the British Museum Catalogue it seems as though some process of corruption had been gone through before a passable reading such as ORSNAFORDA was evolved. The second letter especially is in doubt. We have :—

Vol. II, B. M. 137 OHSIIAEORDA.
Vol. II, B. M. 149 OИZIIAEORDA.
Vol. II, B. M. 153 OИSIIEOdRA.

[1] B. M. *Cat. of English Coins*, Vol. I, PL. XXVIII, No. 1.
[2] Ibid., Vol. II, PL. V, No. 2.

Now looking at the St. Eadmund pennies is it merely a coincidence that we have :—

Vol. I, B. M. 224 +ꞐII ꝺNREIOIITRꞐ

The third penny above seems to me to represent the same sound as this St. Eadmund penny, and the St. Eadmund penny in its turn is probably a corruption of ꞐNꝺIERMONETꞐ or some such legend, Ansier being one of the St. Eadmund moneyers. It will be noticed that several of the Orsnaforda pennies have the S laid flat as in the Ansier pennies, Vol. I, B. M. 243, 248–55, and they have also the second letter H sometimes as in Vol. I, B. M. 248.

This can hardly be accidental, for in other Orsnaforda pennies we notice groups of letters that appear elsewhere. Thus Orsnaforda, Vol. II, B. M. 150 FV ꝺIIV, and in Vol. I, B. M. 389 St. Eadmund FIIEVSII; Orsnaforda, Vol. II, B. M. 151 ERDLS, and Vol. II, B. M. 31 Dorobernia penny ERDEL; Orsnaforda, Vol. II, B. M. 153 IEIIIƎIꝺIIO, and Vol. I, B. M. 221 St. Eadmund penny ꞐIEMNETMO. The Dorobernia and the St. Eadmund pennies are connected by a type in the British Museum, and the Dorobernia and Orsnaforda pennies are connected by the name of the moneyer 'Bernuald'; so that when we consider that large numbers have been found together, and that the legends show every kind of corruption, it seems that there is very good reason for the explanation offered above. In this case some of the extraordinary legends on the Orsnaforda type should be corruptions of other moneyers' names and not variations of a place-name which has been guessed at as Oxford.

Even if such an explanation be dismissed as improbable, the evidence of the coins themselves so strongly suggests extensive corruption that I should still look to the more grammatical readings ON SNEODRA, ON SHAFORDA or ON SNAFORDA; more especially as a Sihtric penny of this type[1] bears the name SCELDFOR plainly on the reverse with the name of a moneyer 'Gundibert,' who also appears, it is interesting to note, in the St. Eadmund coinage[2]. In

[1] B. M. *Cat. of English Coins*, Vol. I, p. 230.
[2] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 422.

this case the Lancashire town of Salford might have strong claims. Looking finally at the evidence afforded by the pennies included in this book as to the definite character of the place-name Oxford, I am quite unable to accept the Orsnaforda coins, though the local conditions may have been favourable for a Danish coinage. Consequently these pennies are left out, as they should be till their claim has been established with greater certainty.

Apart from this, there are one or two pennies included in the text which should be noticed. First comes a penny of Æthelstan (No. 7, p. 2), with the spelling Saxorum. Derby, Nottingham, and Tamworth pennies also have this peculiarity, on which Sir J. Evans has made the following observation: 'I know of no other coins of Æthelstan bearing this title than those of the four towns now mentioned, though of course others may exist, and indeed probably do exist of the Leicester mint. The form SAXORVM is remarkable and suggestive of its having been devised by those to whom the name of Saxon was unfamiliar. So far then as the present evidence goes I am justified in suggesting that the coins of Æthelstan bearing his title as King of the Saxons were in the main struck in the beginning of his reign, in that part of his dominions which had recently been wrested from the Danes or in the adjacent districts, and that the title was employed with the especial view of impressing upon his Midland subjects the fact that they were no longer under Danish or Mercian rule, but now owed their allegiance to the Saxon whose superscription was impressed upon their coins[1].' In connexion with this the penny of Eadred (p. 7) assumes a new interest. Its peculiarity is that it bears on the obverse the title Eadred Rex Ox Vrbis. The fact that the proper place of the name of the town is on the reverse, and the appearance of this penny, led me at first to suspect its genuineness, more especially as the penny described on p. 6 is of the type we should expect and the reign is a short one. It is regarded, however, by better judges than myself as genuine; and if that be the case, it is clear that the local conditions demanded a special title. This gives additional weight to the remarks which

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1885, p. 142.

have been made on the Æthelstan penny. Danish influence must have been more widespread than we are led to suppose by looking at treaties or boundaries. As regards the pennies of Æthelræd, I can only repeat what I have said in the text, that the names of the moneyers on p. 12 clearly prove that most of the pennies were issued late in the reign and not at the beginning as has been supposed hitherto. The great disaster at this time was the burning of Oxford by the Danes in the year 1009, after their march through the Chilterns. If we are right in supposing that there was already a considerable Danish element in the town, and if they had suffered persecution, this would have been sufficient reason for the sudden appearance of the invaders, and the burning must have been partial. However, it should be noted that the Type on p. 12 and the first Type of Cnut provide us with an entirely new list of moneyers.

There are no pennies of Eadmund Ironside; and those of Cnut appear to be the most common in the whole series, though it is noticeable that in England they are rarely found and usually command high prices. As a curiosity the penny of Sihtric should be noticed (p. 24). The reverse has the same reading as one of the long cross pennies of Æthelræd (p. 20), and in all probability both obverse and reverse were based on that type. The Stockholm Collection has a considerable number of these pennies with the reverses of different English cities, but I can offer no explanation of such variety, even though done in imitation, more especially as the reverses do not seem to be from the original English dies, which might have been bought or taken in plunder for such a purpose. In the reign of Edward the Confessor we meet for the first time with the type of penny which has the legend PAC X. The interest of this lies in the fact that the constant appearance of these letters on English coins has been interpreted as an allusion to the great meeting of the Witenagemot which was held in Oxford in A.D. 1017–1018. Mr. Keary, in his Introduction to the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, remarks that 'The terms of this agreement of Oxford were to a certain extent embodied in a series of statutes identical with or similar to those which bear the

name of Cnut in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws. We may assume that the coins with the legend "Pax" (PACX) have some reference to the agreement at Oxford, or to the promulgation of Cnut's Laws, and to the theory that the peace of Eadgar had been re-established[1].' One other penny should be noticed, it is that of Matilda struck by Sveting. There are charters of the Empress dated from Oxford, and she seems to have made the city her head quarters from July, 1141, to December, 1142, until her flight in fact. The position of this moneyer cannot have been a very pleasant one.

It can hardly fail to be of interest if I add a few words about hoards. For the most part they have been found buried, as will been seen, in places where we should least expect to find them. To a numismatist such finds have a peculiar value. It is not merely that the locality of the find may confirm some previous historical information or throw an entirely new light on some historical problem. A mass of coins deposited at any one time affords valuable information as to the sequence of types; it yields as a rule pieces in the best condition free from tiresome doubts as to their readings; it sets at rest any fears as to the genuineness of the pieces described. The discovery of a hoard, in fact, has many advantages should the coins fall into the hands of those able to appreciate and describe them.

Of the Æthelstan pennies several were found in Rome. 'During some excavations which were being carried on near the House of the Vestals, at the foot of the Palatine, a hoard of coins was discovered, enclosed in an earthenware vessel. It consisted of 830 Anglo-Saxon pennies, ranging in date between 871 and 947, that is to say, of coins which to all intents may be accounted contemporary. Together with these English pieces were two denarii of Pavia, one of Ratisbon, and one of Limoges, all of the end of the ninth century, or the first half of the tenth, and finally, one solidus aureus of the Byzantine emperor, Theophilus (829–842)[2].' These coins were described by De Rossi, and among them were the Oxford pennies struck by Eardulf, Vðelric, Maðelwald, and Sigeland.

[1] Vol. II, p. lxxxv. [2] *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 225.

Another Æthelstan penny struck by Maðelwald was found in the year 1876 by a gamekeeper, who 'in digging for a missing ferret at a place called Killyon Manor, Hill of Down, Meath, came upon a hoard of 88 silver pennies[1].' In this hoard, described by Sir John Evans, there were pennies of Eadweard the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Eadred, with single examples of the coinage of three Northumbrian kings. Of the Eadmund pennies one proved to be struck at Oxford by Reingrim, a coin at present unique and now, with the Maðelwald penny, in the collection of Sir John Evans.

From Ireland we come to Skye, where a find of such an interesting nature was made that I give Mr. A. B. Richardson's account complete. 'On 7th January, 1891, Mr. Reginald Macleod, the Queen's Remembrancer, sent to the Museum two silver coins which had been found on the shore near the Storr Rock, about eight miles from Portree, in the Isle of Skye, requesting Dr. Anderson to inform him what the coins were, and, whether they were wanted for the National Museum. Dr. Anderson immediately replied, stating that the coins were Cufic, of the Samanide Caliphs, dating about the commencement of the tenth century, and that they were wanted for the National Museum. At the same time he pointed out the important fact that when these Cufic coins are found in this country or in Scandinavia they are usually associated with hoards of the Viking time, consisting of coins, ingots, and personal ornaments of silver, and that in the last instance of their occurrence in Scotland (*Skaill Treasure Trove,* Orkney, 15th April, 1858[2]) they were accompanied by 16 lb. weight of bullion, largely made up of personal ornaments, such as armlets and massive brooches of silver. He therefore suggested that it should be ascertained whether the exact spot in which the two coins were found could be identified, in case there might be other portions of a similar hoard still to be discovered. Accordingly, on the 20th January, the Queen's Remembrancer informed Dr. Anderson that the result of a search conducted by the assistant to the Procurator-Fiscal

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1885, p. 128.

[2] In this hoard Dr. Anderson kindly informs me that there were no Oxford pennies of Æthelstan, but only one of Leicester.

in the spot where the two coins were found had been the discovery of a hoard of 106 coins and 23 pieces of silver[1].' The writer then describes the bullion, which consisted of fragments of brooches, bracelets, and portions of ingots cut into short lengths. There were 31 coins and 1 fragment of Eadweard the Elder; 56 coins and 1 fragment of Æthelstan; 1 of Plegmund Archbp. of Canterbury; 1 of Sitric of Northumbria and another of a similar type; in all 90 coins and two fragments, to which may be added 18 oriental coins. Thanks to the interest and intelligence displayed on this occasion two Oxford pennies of Æthelstan were recovered; one struck by Rægenward and the other by Wynelm; a penny struck by the latter moneyer, however, already existed in the B.M.

These few finds supply us with most of the known pennies before Eadgar's reign. Fortunately from that reign onwards they have been so numerous in one particular region as to make description of them unnecessary. That region is the southern part of Sweden on the Baltic, and more especially Gotland. Hence comes that apparently inexhaustible supply, which has made the National Collection in Stockholm so superior to our own in certain reigns. Most of my readers will be familiar with B. E. Hildebrand's able book *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Mynt kabinettet.* In that work alone he describes one hundred and eighty different pennies of Oxford under the reigns of Eadgar, Æthelræd, Cnut, Harold, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor. Yet such is our poverty at home that only forty of this period can be found in the second volume of the B. M. Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Series. Since Prof. Hildebrand published his book in 1881 other finds have been made, so that this number has been added to, whilst the National Collections at Copenhagen and Kristiania still further swell the total. These finds still continue at irregular intervals, and one of them, though a very small one, was photographed for me at Stockholm just after its arrival[2] in the summer of 1902. It was the first Anglo-

[1] 'Notice of a hoard ... found in Skye.' By A. B. Richardson, Curator of Coins. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. XXVI (Vol. II, Third Series), 1892, p. 225.

[2] Enclosed in a cigar-box!

Saxon penny hoard that I had seen, and I thought the photograph would make an interesting frontispiece.

In England a great find of Edward the Confessor pennies was made at Upper Chancton Farm, Storrington[1], during the removal of a hedge. Here a great scramble took place, but a large number came to the B. M., including some Oxford pennies of Types VII, IX, and XI.

From the Conquest onwards the most interesting finds have been made in England, which amply illustrate the haphazard nature of such events and the real danger of these little records falling into ignorant hands. 'On Sunday afternoon, June 30, 1833, as four boys, under ten years of age, were playing at marbles in a small piece of pasture land called the Old Litten, attached to the homestead called the Manor House, in Beaworth, one of them discovered in the track of a waggon-wheel a piece of lead sticking up above the surface; upon stooping down to take hold of it, he discovered a small hole, into which he thrust his hand, and brought out a number of coins, his companions immediately following his example. Though they did not consider their treasure to be more than old buttons, they concealed a part of them in an adjoining potatoe field, and others they took into the village of Beaworth; but treating them as of no value, some they jerked into a pond, and others they flung about the road. Half a dozen villagers who were, as usual upon a Sunday afternoon, congregated in the street, were attracted by the circumstance, and being more aware of the value of the pieces thus discovered, hastened to the spot, and commenced a regular scramble for the booty. As some of the parties obtained possession of many more than others, the parents of the boys who first discovered the treasure became dissatisfied, and appealed on the following morning to Mr. Dunn of Alresford, the owner of the land. This gentleman immediately sent a confidential person to Beaworth, to claim from the parties the delivery of the coins to him, which was readily complied with, though, it is suspected, not to the full extent, and on the same evening Mr. Dunn received upwards of *six thousand* coins.

'The coins were deposited in an oblong box thirteen

[1] Described in *Num. Chron.*, 1867, p. 63.

inches long, eleven inches deep, and nine inches broad; but it was so mutilated by the people, in their eagerness to get at all its contents, that only one side and a part of the bottom remained entire; it had a small plain semi-circular iron handle, without any ornament or trace of inscription[1].' It is interesting to note that according to the account of one of the villagers the coins were packed in regular layers. They were all pennies of William I, and all, with the exception of a hundred or so, were of the PAXS type. Amongst those recovered were one hundred and forty-seven Oxford pennies, an unusually large number, classified by the writer[1], above mentioned, as follows:—

2	BRIHTRED ON OXC
17	BRIHTRED ON OXN
14	BRIHTRED ON OXNE
31	BRIHTRIED ON OXSI
5	SIPETMAN ON OXI
4	SPETMAN ON OXI
2	SPETMAN ON OXN
56	SPETMAN ON OXNE
14	PVLFPI ON OXNEF
145	

In addition there was one penny of the 'profile sceptre' type by HARGOD, and one of the 'sword and quatrefoil ornament' type by PVLFPI; both of which would seem to come before the PAXS type in point of time. Coming to the reigns of Henry I and Stephen a very considerable find of their coins was made in Nottingham. 'Unfortunately,' says the writer[2], the men were 'ignorant of what they had found, and thinking they were only the tops or capsules of bottles, or pieces of tin thickly coated with oxide, commenced throwing them at each other.' One of these pennies was of the rare Matilda type, for which see p. 77.

[1] Description by Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXVI.

[2] *Num. Chron.*, 1881, p. 37.

To conclude with two other instances. The pennies of the first type of Henry II 'were found in 1807 by the side of a road which crossed a ploughed field at Tealby, near Rasen, in the north of Lincolnshire[1].' After 'the best specimens of all the varieties of towns and mint masters' had been taken for the B. M. and private collections 'the rest, to the number of 5127, were melted at the Tower[1],' a cruel fate from which they might well have been spared. This was a very notable discovery, adding no fewer than seventeen towns to the previously known mints of this type. Oxford was one of them, but it is not stated how many Oxford pennies occurred in the hoard; we are only told that the varieties were:—

ADAM · ON · OXENE
ADAM · ON · OXENFO
ASC · · · · ON · OXEN
ROGIER · ON · OXENF

Of the short-cross pennies 6,217 were found at Eccles, near Manchester, 'deposited in an earthen pot, with the mouth uppermost; but so fragile in its material that the upper portion broke away with the least pressure of the surrounding earth[2].' Among these were thirteen Oxford coins struck by Ailwine, Henri, Iefrei, Miles, and Ricard. Quite lately another very large hoard of these pennies was found at Colchester, and two new moneyers, Asketil and Rodbert, were brought to light.

It has been suggested that the presence of Æthelstan silver pennies in Rome resulted from the customary payment of Rom-feoh, a hearth-penny paid on St. Peter's mass-day, which was probably used to support the English school in Rome. The money, however, may have belonged to any one of the numerous English travellers to Rome in those days, and it is hardly necessary to fix definitely on a particular reason. The rapid settlement of Norsemen on the western islands of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the coast of Ireland, explains the appearance of Æthelstan Oxford pennies in the Isle of

[1] Description by Taylor Combe, Esq., in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XVIII.
[2] *Num. Chron.*, 1865, p. 219.

Skye. These folk apparently differed little from other Scandinavian people in their desire for a regular currency, but in such early days they probably gratified their wishes by force. The same applies to the Æthelstan and Eadmund Oxford pennies found in Ireland. The case of the hoards in Sweden and Gotland seems to be different. The great number of Æthelræd pennies points, it is true, to plunder or to the large bribes which were given to the Danes to withdraw. But then the coins of Cnut, Harold I, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor are equally numerous. They are found mostly on the Baltic coasts of Sweden and in Gotland. Wisby was a great trading centre, on account of its security, in very early days, and the English pennies are found mixed with continental and immense quantities of Cufic coins, thus denoting a trade route to and from the East across Europe. Without doubt the Scandinavian empire of Cnut gave additional prosperity to trade, and there may have been policy in the immense taxes levied on England, when her sound currency was so much needed and used in these northern districts. The Stockholm Collection also possesses a fair number of pennies of William the Conqueror, showing the continuity of trade relations between England and the Baltic, which have in fact remained unbroken to the present day. The reasons which can be offered to explain the finding of hoards in England are altogether too various for discussion here, but one feature must be noticed before I bring these prolonged remarks to an end. No hoard of Oxford pennies, belonging to the period included in this book, seems to have been found in Oxford. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that such a large part of the old city is covered by permanent buildings. One or two pennies have been found at Carfax and are now in the Ashmolean, and a quantity of silver pennies belonging to a later period, the first three Edwards, were once found in St. Clement's. No doubt a time will come.

In conclusion, I have to remember the kindly interest of the late Professor York Powell, who gave me letters of introduction to the museum authorities at Stockholm, and urged me to begin this task. I have to thank Professor Hans Hilde-

brand for his permission to work there, and Dr. Bernhard Salin for unceasing attention and the trouble of sending a large number of photographs after me. I have to thank Professor L. B. Stenerson of Kristiania and Direktor Hauberg of Copenhagen for like attentions; and also Professor A. Pasqui of the Museo Nazionale Romano for sending me casts of the Oxford pennies under his care, and Dr. Anderson for allowing photographs to be taken of the two pennies in the National Museum, Edinburgh. Mr. George Macdonald assisted me greatly at Glasgow, and Sir John Evans has kindly sent me casts and allowed me to describe the pennies in his collection, and so have Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. Andrew, and Mr. Lawrence. Then I am much indebted to Mr. H. A. Grueber, Assistant Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, for permission to follow the descriptions and arrangement in his *Catalogue of English Coins*, for a large number of casts, and for much attention. Lastly, I have to thank the Controller of the Clarendon Press for the trouble he has taken in producing this book.

CHARLES L. STAINER.

OXFORD, *December*, 1904.

OXFORD SILVER PENNIES

ÆTHELSTAN

A.D. 925—A.D. 940 or 941.

B. M. Type V.

OBV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. I, 1–5.

Moneyers:—

1. INGELRI.
2. MAÐELFALD.
3. RÆGENFARD.
4. SIGELAND.

---

1. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREXTOTBRIT

Pellet in field.

REV. + INGELRI · M⁻O · OX · VRBI ·

PL. I, 1. B. M. 77. Wt. 1·28

1. The descriptions and order of the Types, under which these pennies are arranged, are mostly the same as in Vol. II of the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, by H. A. Grueber, F.S.A. Beyond a certain point no attempt is made here to facsimile the legends. In the originals small wedges are occasionally used instead of pellets, and the letters N, M, and X especially are of various shapes. Frequently owing to the poor condition of a coin it is difficult to say whether pellets are used or not, but throughout the book, the object of the author is to present the legend clearly so far as he can read it, and only to describe those which he has personally inspected or of which he has seen casts or photographs. The weights are in grammes.

2. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREXTOBRIT
REV. + MAÐELPALDMOOXVRBIS
PL. I, 2. Rome. Wt. 1·6

3. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREX · TOT · BRI
REV. + MAÐELPALD · MO · ⊙XVRB
Sir J. Evans.

4. OBV. + ÆÐELSTĀNREXTOBRIT
REV. + RÆGENPĀRDMO⊙OXVRBIS
PL. I, 3. Edinburgh.

5. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREX
REV. + SIGELANDMOOXVRB
Rome. Wt. 1·4

6. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREX
REV. + SIGELANDM⁻O · OX · VRBIS ·
PL. I, 4. Rome. Wt. 1·4

7. OBV. + EDELSTANRESAXORVM
REV. + SIGELANDMOOXVRBIS ·
PL. I, 5. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

2. Another penny at Rome also weighs 1·6, and seems to be from the same die. The obverse appears to have a cross of four pellets in the field.

4. The reverse appears to have the letter Ā in the field, but some of these coins show signs of having been struck on older pieces. The photograph reduces the penny in size.

7. See Preface for the remarks of Sir J. Evans on the use of the title SAXORVM, and the probability of this penny having been struck at the beginning of Æthelstan's reign. The coin is poorly executed, the ES on the obverse being doubtful.

B. M. Type VIII.

OBV. Bust r., crowned. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. I, 6–9.

Moneyers :—

1. EARDVLF.
2. VÐELRIC.
3. VVYNELM.

---

1. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANRE^{X}

REV. + EĀRDVLFM^{-}O · OXVR

PL. I, 6. Rome. Wt. 1·77

2. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREX·

REV. + VÐELRIC · MO · OX · VRBIS ·

PL. I, 7. Rome. Wt. 1·7

3. OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREX

REV. + VÐELRICM^{-}OOX

Rome. Wt. 1·7

4. OBV. + ÆÐELSTĀNREX

REV. + VVYNELM · M · ⊙ · ⊙X · VRBIS

A pellet in the field opposite each end of cross.

PL. I, 8. Edinburgh.

1. Another at Rome weighs 1·66.

2. Another at Rome weighs 1·60.

4. The photograph in the Plate reduces this penny in size which is nearly the same as PL. I, 9.

5. OBV. + ÆÐELSTĀNREX

REV. + VVYNELM · M · ⊙·⊙X · VRBIS

A pellet in the field opposite each end of cross.

PL. I, 9. B. M. 78. Wt. 1·55

The names of Æthelstan's Oxford moneyers being rather uncommon, it would seem possible to claim for Oxford some of the numerous pennies in his reign and the two following ones which do not bear the name of the mint-town. An Æthelstan penny by Sigeland at Rome, though without the name of the town, is almost certainly an Oxford penny, and in the later reigns the names of Othelric and Wynnelm also occur. The author only includes, however, in the present book those pennies which bear the initials of the name of the city. For the Alfred pennies which have been attributed to Oxford, see Preface.

EADMVND

A.D. 940 or 941—A.D. 946.

B. M. Type VI.

OBV. Bust r., crowned. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. II, 1–2.

Moneyer:—

1. REINGRIM.

---

1. OBV. + EADMVNDRE^{X}

   REV. + REINGRIMMONETAOX

   PL. II, 1. Sir J. Evans.

2. OBV. + EADMVNDRE+

   REV. + REINGRIMMONETAO

   PL. II, 2. B. M. 156.

EADRED

A.D. 946—A.D. 955.

B. M. Type V.

OBV. Bust r., crowned. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. II, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. REINGRIM.

---

1. OBV. + EADREDREX

REV. + REINGRIMM°NETA°

PL. II, 1. C. L. Stainer.

1. This penny is in poor condition and worn at the end of the reverse legend, but it clearly belongs to Oxford. The letter N on the reverse in both cases resembles the letter H.

B. M. Type I.

OBV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Moneyer's name, in two lines across field, with pellets above and below, separated by three crosses.

Moneyer:—

1. PYNNELM.

---

1. OBV. · EADREDREXO + VRBIZ

In field ·:·

REV. ·:· PYNNE + + + LMMO ·:·

B. M. Wt. 1·5

1. A coin from the Montagu Collection lately acquired by the British Museum. It was illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue. I have made some remarks upon it in the Preface.

EADWIG

A. D. 955—A. D. 959.

NONE.

The absence of pennies in this and the two preceding reigns is remarkable. It can hardly be attributed to any check in the national progress, and no doubt the discovery of hoards in the future will help to complete our series. It is, however, not impossible that there may have been a cessation of the working of the Oxford Mint during this period.

EADGAR

King of Mercia A.D. 957; of all England A.D. 959; Died A.D. 975.

B. M. Type III.

OBV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. II, 1–2.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆÐELPINE.
2. LEOFSIGE.

---

1. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLORVM
   REV. + ÆÐELPINEMONETAOXNA
   PL. II, 1. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

2. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLORV
   REV. + LEOFSIGEMONETAOXNA
   PL. II, 2. C. L. Stainer.

B. M. Type VI.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. II, 3–5.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆÐELPINE.
2. PVLFRED.

1. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻ONOXNA ·
   PL. II, 3. Stockholm, 33. Wt. 1·586

2. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻OOXNA ·
   Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

3. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLOX
   REV. + PVLFREDM⁻OOXNA ·
   PL. II, 4. Stockholm, 34. Wt. 1·678

4. OBV. + EADGARREXANGLOX
   REV. + PVLFREDM⁻ONOXNA ·
   PL. II, 5. Stockholm, 35. Wt. 1·547

1. Another in the possession of Sir J. Evans.

4. Others in the possession of the B. M., Copenhagen, and Sir J. Evans.

EADWEARD II

A.D. 975—A.D. 979.

B. M. Type I.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. II, 1–2.

Moneyer:—

1. ƤVLFRED.

---

1. OBV. + EADƤEARDREXANGIO

REV. + ƤVLFREDMONO⁻XNA

PL. II, 1. Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

2. OBV. + EADƤEARDREXANGIO

REV. + ƤVLFREDMONO⁻XA

PL. II, 2. Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

Others of this reign appear to exist, but I have not been able to trace them. On the rev. the letter M is like H. These coins, owing to the ending of the obverse legend and their curious appearance, are not above suspicion. Compare with B. M. Catalogue.

ÆTHELRÆD II

Succ. A.D. 979; Dep. A.D. 1013; Rest. A.D. 1014; Died A.D. 1016.

B. M. Type I; Hild. Type A.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. III, 1–4.

Moneyers:—

1. ALFPOLD.
2. ÆÐELMÆR.
3. ÆÐELRIC.
4. BRIHTPINE.
5. COLEMAN.
6. LEOFMAN.

---

1. OBV. + ÆÐEL · REDREXĀNG
   REV. + ĀLFPOL · DONOXNĀ

Stockholm, 3241. Wt. 1·770

1. With the exception of the three pennies of Eadgar all the pennies in the National Collection at Stockholm belong to this and the four succeeding reigns: they end with Type V in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Having been found in hoards they are mostly in very fine condition. The author went over in 1902 to describe and weigh them. The numbers refer to *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Konglica Myntkabinettet,* Stockholm, 1881: by Bror Emil Hildebrand. Owing to the constant additions the numbers are useful only for reference to that work. *Hild. Type &c.* at the head of this and other pages refers to the arrangement of types in the same book.

2. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXĀNGLO :
REV. + ĀLFPOLDONOXNĀF
Stockholm, 3242. Wt. 1·674

3. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELMÆRM⁻OOXNA
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·677

4. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXAN ·
REV. + ÆÐELRICONO + EN :
Stockholm, 3227. Wt. 1·720

5. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXAN :
REV. + ÆÐELRICONOXNĀ ·
Stockholm, 3228. Wt. 1·682

6. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXĀN :
REV. + ÆÐELRICONOXNA ·
Stockholm, 3229. Wt. 1·707

7. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXĀNGL
REV. + ÆÐELRICONOXNA
Stockholm, 3230. Wt. 1·775

8. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGL ·
REV. + ÆÐELRICON : OXNĀ ·
PL. III, 1. Stockholm, 3231. Wt. 1·696

9. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXANGL
REV. + ÆÐELRICONOXNĀ :
Stockholm, 3232. Wt. 1·758

10. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGL ·
REV. + BRIHTPINEONOXNĀ
PL. III, 2. Stockholm, 3243. Wt. 1·685

11. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGL ·
REV. + COLEM · ĀNONOXNĀ
PL. III, 3. Stockholm, 3247. Wt. 1·737

12. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL·
REV. + LEOFMANONOXNA
PL. III, 4. Stockholm, 3257. Wt. 1·687

13. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL·
+ LEOFMAN + ONOXNAFO
Stockholm, 3258. Wt. 1·687

13. The author has left the pennies of this type in their usual position. It should be noticed, however, that five of the moneyers' names are to be found on the last type of this reign (Type VIII), and the first current type of Cnut (Type VIII). This seems to show that the issue was made for the most part at the end of Æthelred's reign, but of course there might have been another at the beginning.

B. M. Type II, var. a ; Hild. Type B 1.

OBV. Bust r., diademed. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Hand of Providence, issuing from clouds, between Ā and Ꙍ. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. III, 5.

Moneyer:—

1. ÆÐELMÆR.

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1. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELMÆRM⁻OOXNA
PL. III, 5. Stockholm, 3217. Wt. 1·675

B. M. Type II, var. d ; Hild. Type B 2.

OBV. Bust r., diademed. In front of bust, sceptre, cross pommée. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Hand of Providence issuing from clouds, with lines curved outwards, between Ā and Ꙍ.

See PL. III, 6–8.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPINE.
2. ÆÐELMÆR.
3. ꝸODINC.

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1. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANꝸLOX
   REV. + ÆLFPINEM⁻O·OXAN
   PL. III, 6. Stockholm, 3210 add. Wt. 1·272

2. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANꝸLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELMÆRM⁻O·OXNA
   PL. III, 7. Stockholm, 3218. Wt. 1·555

3. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANꝸLOX
   REV. + ꝸODINCM⁻OOXAN
   PL. III, 8. Stockholm, 3250. Wt. 1·293

B. M. Type III, var. a; Hild. Type C.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. In front of bust, sceptre, cross pommée. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Short cross, voided, frequently with pellet in centre: in angles, CRV+. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. III, 9–10 and PL. IV, 11–12.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPINE.
2. ÆÐELMÆR.
3. ÆÐELPINE.
4. EADPI.
5. ꝸODINC.
6. PVLFPINE.

1. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆLFPINEM⁻O·ONOXN
   Stockholm, 3208. Wt. 1·596

2. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆLFPINEM⁻O·OXNA
   Stockholm, 3209. Wt. 1·680

3. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆLFPINEM⁻O·OXNA
   PL. III, 9. Stockholm, 3210. Wt. 1·580

4. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆLFPINEMΩO·OXNĀF
   Stockholm, 3211. Wt. 1·683

5. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELM/ÆRM⁻OONA
   Stockholm, 3219. Wt. 1·640

6. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXA·NGLᴐ
   REV. + ÆÐELM/ÆRM⁻ʘʘX
   Stockholm, 3220. Wt. 1·596

7. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELM/ÆRM⁻OOXN
   Stockholm, 3221. Wt. 1·595

8. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELM/ÆRM⁻OONOXN
   Stockholm, 3222. Wt. 1·578

9. OBV. + ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLOX
   REV. + ÆÐELM/ÆRM⁻OOXNA
   Stockholm, 3223. Wt. 1·577

2. Also at Helsingfors. 9. Also B. M. 296.

10. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻OONOXN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·765

11. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻⊙⊙XNA
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·625

12. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻OOXNA
B. M. 297. Wt. 1·665

13. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐELPINEM⁻O : OXNA
Stockholm, 3236. Wt. 1·590

14. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + EADPIM⁻OOXNA
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·610

15. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + GODINCM⁻OOXN
Stockholm, 3251. Wt. 1·604

16. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + GODINCM⁻OONOXN
Stockholm, 3252. Wt. 1·651

17. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + GODINCM⁻OOXNA
PL. IV, 11. Stockholm, 3253. Wt. 1·622

18. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + PVLFPINEM⁻OO·NOXN
PL. IV, 12. Stockholm, 3261. Wt. 1·622

17. Also Copenhagen and B. M. 298.
18. Also at Helsingfors.

19. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + PVLFPINEM⁻OOXNA
Stockholm, 3262. Wt. 1·657

B. M. Type IV, var. a; Hild. Type D.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Long cross voided, frequently with pellet in centre; each limb terminating in three crescents. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. IV, 13–16.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFMÆR.
2. ÆLFPINE.
3. ÆÐELMÆR.
4. ÆÐELPINE.
5. GODINC.
6. PVLFPINE.

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1. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLCX
REV. + ·ÆL FMÆ RM·C⊙ ⊙XN
PL. IV, 13. Stockholm, 3206. Wt. 1·653

2. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLCX
REV. + ÆLF M·ÆR M·Ω·O OXNA
Stockholm, 3207. Wt. 1·674

1. Also at Copenhagen. When the obv. or rev. legend is divided by bust or cross, the gaps are shown in the text: this will be found very useful when comparing the pennies with the text.

2. Also P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.

3. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO
REV. + ÆLF PINE M^CO:O XNA
Stockholm, 3212. Wt. 1·663

4. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆLF PINE M^CO·O XNA
Stockholm, 3214. Wt. 1·735

5. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐE LM/Æ RM^CO OXNA
Stockholm, 3224. Wt. 1·668

6. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐE LM/Æ RM°O OXNA
Stockholm, 3225. Wt. 1·670

7. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐE LM/ÆR MΩO OXNA
Stockholm, 3226. Wt. 1·696

8. OBV. + ·ÆÐELR/ÆDREXANGLO
REV. + ·ÆÐE LPIN EMO·O NOXN
Stockholm, 3237. Wt. 1·670

9. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐE LPINE M^COO NOXN
PL. IV, 14. Stockholm, 3238. Wt. 1·619

10. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLOX
REV. + ÆÐ ELPI NEMΩ O:OXN
Stockholm, 3239. Wt. 1·709

3. The O on obv. is partly cut off by bust. Another at Stockholm, 3213, very fine, wt. 1·680: also at Copenhagen and Helsingfors.

4. Also at Kristiania.

6. Also at Copenhagen.

8. Also at Copenhagen.

11. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLCX
REV. + ÆÐE LPINE M^{C}⊙·⊙ XNA
Stockholm, 3240. Wt. 1·680

12. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO
REV. + GO DINC M^{C}⊙·⊙ XNĀ
Stockholm, 3254. Wt. 1·699

13. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLCX
REV. + GO DINC M^{C}⊙·⊙ XNĀ
C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·675

14. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLCX
REV. + GO DINC M^{C}O·O XNĀ
PL. IV, 15. Stockholm, 3255. Wt. 1·690

15. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLCX
REV. + GO DINC M·Ω·O OXNA
Stockholm, 3256. Wt. 1·710

16. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLO
REV. + PVL FPINE M^{C}⊙⊙ NOXN
PL. IV, 16. Stockholm, 3263. Wt. 1·715

17. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLO
REV. + PVL FPINE M^{C}OO NOXN
Stockholm, 3264. Wt. 1·612

18. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLO
REV. + PVL FPINE M^{C}O·O NOXN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·730

19. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGLCX
REV. + PVL FPINE M^{C}OO NOXN
Stockholm, 3265. Wt. 1·698

14. Also at Copenhagen.

15. The illustration is from a penny in the possession of the author.

20. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLCX
REV. + PVL FPINE M·Ω·O OXNA
Stockholm, 3266. Wt. 1·697

B. M. Type VIII; Hild. Type E.

OBV. Bust l., in armour and radiate helmet. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Square with three pellets at each corner: over it, bisecting the sides, long cross, voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; pellet in centre. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. IV, 17–20.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPINE.
2. ÆÐELRIC.
3. BRIHTPINE.
4. COLEMAN.
5. LEOFMAN.
6. LEOFPINE.
7. PVLFPINE.

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1. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL
REV. + ÆLF PINE MΩO OXNA
Stockholm, 3215. Wt. 1·322

2. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO
REV. + ÆLF PINE MΩO OXNA
Stockholm, 3216. Wt. 1·430

3. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO
REV. + ÆLF PINE MᶜOO XNA
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·442

4. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL
REV. + ·ÆÐ ELRI. CMᶜ⊙ ⊙XNA
Stockholm, 3233. Wt. 1·365

5. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL
REV. + ÆÐ ELRIC Mᶜ⊙⊙ XNA
Stockholm, 3234. Wt. 1·472

6. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGLO
REV. + ÆÐ ELRIC Mᶜ⊙⊙ XNA
Stockholm, 3235. Wt. 1·440

7. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL⊙
REV. + BRI HTPIN EMᶜ⊙ ⊙XNA
PL. IV, 17. Stockholm, 3244. Wt. 1·520

8. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL
REV. + BYR HTPI NEMᶜ⊙ ⊙XNA
Stockholm, 3245. Wt. 1·479

9. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL⊙
REV. + BYR HTPN EMᶜ⊙ ⊙+N·
Stockholm, 3246. Wt. 1·465

10. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL
REV. + COL EMA NMᶜ⊙ ⊙XNA
Stockholm, 3248. Wt. 1·479

11. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL·
REV. + COL EMAN MᶜOO XNA
PL. IV, 18. Stockholm, 3249. Wt. 1·454

12. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXANGL·
REV. + LE⊙ FMAN MΩ⊙ OXNA
PL. IV, 19. Stockholm, 3259. Wt. 1·516

9. Also at Kristiania. 10. Also at Kristiania.
12. Also at Copenhagen and Helsingfors.

13. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDRE+ĀNGL·
REV. + LEO MAN M^COQ XAN
Stockholm, 3260. Wt. 1·427

14. OBV. + ÆÐELRÆDREXĀNGL
REV. + LEO FÞIN EM^CO OXN
PL. IV, 20. Bodleian Library.

15. OBV. + ÆÐELREDREXĀNGLO
REV. + ÞVL FÞINE M^COO NON
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·735

CNVT

A.D. 1016—A.D. 1035.

B. M. Type II ; Hild. Type B.

OBV. Bust to l. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents and dividing legend ; pellet in centre: outer circle.

See PL. VI, 14.

Moneyers :—

1. ꟼVLFꟼINE.

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1. OBV. + ꟻNVTREXANGLO

REV. + ꟼV LFꟼI NEMO NOX

PL. VI, 14. Stockholm, 3050. Wt. 1·239

Another interesting penny of the same type reads :—

OBV. XZIHTRIC · ꟻNVT[DÆL]

REV. XꟼVL FꟼIN M⁽ʻ⊙⊙ NOXN

PL. VI, 15. Stockholm, 94. Wt. 1·425

1. The only Oxford penny of this type that the author has seen or heard of. The second is no doubt a Dublin penny, but is sufficiently interesting to be included in the series. The obverse legend is rather blurred at the end, and on the reverse the letter N is H as in some of the early pennies. The weight is heavy.

B. M. Type VIII; Hild. Type E.

OBV. Bust l., crowned, within quatrefoil, with or without pellet on each cusp. Around, inscription: outer circle.

REV. On quatrefoil, with pellet at apex of each cusp, long cross voided, each limb ending in three crescents and dividing legend; pellet in centre. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. V, 1–4.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPINE.
2. ÆÐELRIC.
3. ALFPOLD.
4. BRIHTPINE.
5. COLEMAN.
6. EADPI.
7. GODMAN.
8. GODPINE.
9. LEOFPINE.
10. SÆPINE.
11. SIBPINE.
12. PVLMÆR.
13. PVLFPINE.
14. PVLPI.

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1. OBV. + CNVTREXANGLOR
   REV. + ÆLF PINE ONO XSN
   Stockholm, 3003. Wt. 1·121

2. OBV. + CNVTREXANGLORVM
   REV. + ÆLF PINE ONO XENA
   Kristiania.

3. OBV. + CNVTREXAGLORV
   REV. + ÆÐE LRIC ONO XSA:
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·130

4. OBV. + CNVTREXANGL·ORVM
   REV. + ÆÐE LRIC ONO XSA
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·149

1. This type of penny is apparently the most common in the whole Oxford series.

3. Also at Kristiania.

5. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪNGL·ORVM
   Rev. + ÆÐE LRIᵹ ONO XSᚪ:
   Stockholm, 3006. Wt. 1·124

6. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᚪNGLORVM
   Rev. + ÆÐE LRIᵹ ONO XSEN
   C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·116

7. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᚪNGLORVM·
   Rev. + ÆÐE LRIᵹ· ONOX SENᚪ
   Pl. V, 1. Stockholm, 3007. Wt. 1·096

8. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪGLORV.
   Rev. + ÆÐE LRIᵹ ONO XSN
   Stockholm, 3008. Wt. 1·126

9. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪNGL·ORVM
   Rev. + ÆÐE LRIᵹ· ONO XSN
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·150

10. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪNGLORV
    Rev. + ÆÐL RIᵹO NOX SNᚪ
    Bodleian Library.

11. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪNGLORVM ·.·
    Rev. + ·ᚪL FPOL DON OXᚪ
    Stockholm, 3009. Wt. 1·190

12. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᚪNGᚴORVM:
    Rev. + ᚪL FPOL DON OXᚪ
    C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·109

13. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᚪNGLORV
    Rev. + ᚪL FPOL DON OXN
    Copenhagen. Wt. ·929

7. Also at Copenhagen. 8. Also at Kristiania.
9. Also B. M. 478.

14. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORVM :
Rev. + AL: FPOL DON OXN
Pl. V, 2. Stockholm, 3010. Wt. 1·140

15. Obv. + CNVTRXANGLORV
Rev. + BR IHTP ENᶜO NOX
Stockholm, 3014. Wt. 1·102

16. Obv. + CNVTREXANGL·ORVM
Rev. [+ BRI HTP INEO NOX]
Stockholm, 3013. Wt. 1·141

17. Obv. + CNVTREXA·NGLORVM
Rev. + BRI HTP· INEON OXE·
B. M. 479. Wt. 1·432

18. Obv. + ·CNVTREXAGL·ORVM
Rev. + CO LEM ANO NOX
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·133

19. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORV
Rev. + CO LEM ANO NOX
Stockholm, 3016. Wt. 1·150

20. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORVM
Rev. + CO LEM ANO NOX
Stockholm, 3017. Wt. 1·115

21. Obv. + C·NVTREXANGLORVM
Rev. + CO· L·EM· ANON OXSE
Stockholm. Wt. 1·470

22. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORV
Rev. + CO LEMA NONO XSN :
Stockholm, 3018.

16. Rev. is much worn.
17. Pellet in each crescent on rev.
19. Also at Copenhagen.
21. Also at Copenhagen. The × on obv. is nearly +.
22. Too much broken to weigh.

23. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORV
Rev. + EA DPIO NOX SEN
Stockholm, 3019. Wt. 1·148

24. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORVM:
Rev. + EA· DPIO NOX SEN·
Stockholm, 3020. Wt. 1·281

25. Obv. + CNVTR·EXA·NGLORVMΩ
Rev. + EAD PION OXSE NNA
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·325

26. Obv. + CNVTREXANGORVM
Rev. + EA DPIO NXS ENA
Bodleian Library.

27. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORV:
Rev. + GO DMA NON OXA
Pl. V, 3. Stockholm, 3024. Wt. 1·080

28. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORVM
Rev. + GO DMA NON OXA
Stockholm, 3025. Wt. 1·185

29. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORV
Rev. + GO DMA NON OXS
Stockholm, 3026.

30. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORVM
Rev. + GO DMA NON OXS[ ]
Stockholm, 3027. Wt. 1·125

31. Obv. + CNVTREXANGL·ORVM:
Rev. + GOD PINE ONO XSE:
Stockholm, 3028. Wt. 1·174

23. Also at Kristiania. 24. Also at Copenhagen.
29. Bored through.

32. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORVM :
Rev. + COD PINE ONO: XSEN
Stockholm, 3029. Wt. 1·470

33. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORVM :
Rev. + GOD PINE ONO XSEN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·460

34. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLOVM
Rev. + GOD PINE ONO XSN
Stockholm, 3030. Wt. 1·130

35. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORVM ·:·
Rev. + LEO FPIN EONO XSEN
Kristiania.

36. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORV :
Rev. + SÆ PINE OXS ENA
Stockholm, 3044. Wt. 1·194

37. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLORVM
Rev. + SÆP INEO NOX SENA
Stockholm, 3045. Wt. 1·360

38. Obv. + CNVTREXANGLOR·
Rev. + SÆ PINE ONO XSN
Stockholm, 3046. Wt. ·957

39. Obv. + CNVTREANGLORV
Rev. + SÆ PINE ONO XSN
Stockholm, 3047. Wt. 1·097

40. Obv. + CNVTR·EXANGLORV
Rev. + SÆ PINE ONO XSN
Kristiania.

32. The × on rev. is nearly +. 33. Also at Kristiania.
34. Also at Copenhagen.
36. Also at Copenhagen, Wt. 1·137.
39. Also at Copenhagen.

41. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᴬNGLORV
Rev. + SÆP INE ONO XSN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·169

42. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᴬNGLORV
Rev. + SÆP INE: ONO XSN
Stockholm. Wt. 1·052

43. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᴬNGLORV
Rev. + SIB PIN EMᶜ OXᴬ
Stockholm, 3048. Wt. 1·142

44. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᴬNGLORV
Rev. + SIB PNEO NOX SENᴬ
Stockholm, 3049. Wt. 1·409

45. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᴬNGLORVM
Rev. + PVL· MÆR· ONO XSEN
B. M. 482. Wt. 1·372

46. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᴬNGLORVM
Rev. + PVL MÆR: ONO XSEN
Stockholm, 3054. Wt. 1·092

47. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᴬ·NGLORVM
Rev. + PVL MÆR ONOX SENᴬ
B. M. 483. Wt. 1·307

48. Obv. + ᵹNVTR·EXᴬNGLORVM ⁘
Rev. + PVL FPINE ONO XSEN
Pl. V, 4. Kristiania.

49. Obv. + ᵹNVTREXᴬNGLORV:
Rev. + PV LPIO NOX SEN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·131

43. Another at Stockholm, Wt. 1·115.
44. The × on rev. is nearly +; another at Copenhagen.
48. Reading rather doubtful.

50. OBV. + CNVTREXANGLORV
REV. + PV LPIO NOX SEN
Stockholm, 3055. Wt. 1·144

51. OBV. + CNVTREXANGLORV
REV. + PV. LPIO NOX SEN:
Stockholm, 3056. Wt. 1·143

B. M. Type XIV; Hild. Type G.

OBV. Bust l., wearing pointed helmet; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Short cross voided, limbs united at base by two circles; in centre, pellet; in each angle, broken annulet enclosing pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. V, 5–8.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELRIC.
2. ÆLFPINE.
3. ALFPOLD.
4. COLAMAN.
5. EDPIG.
6. GODPINE.
7. LIFINC.
8. PVLFPINE.

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1. OBV. + CNVT RECXA:
REV. + ÆGELRICONOCXE
Stockholm, 2999. Wt. 1·030

2. OBV. + CNVT: EXANGL
REV. + ÆGEL·RIC: ONOCXEN
Stockholm, 3000. Wt. 1·181

3. OBV. + CNVTR EXANGL·
REV. + ÆLFPINEONOCXEN:
Stockholm, 3004. Wt. 1·134

1. Also at Copenhagen.
2. Also at Copenhagen reading OCXEN.
3. Also at Copenhagen.

4. Obv. + CNVTR EXANGL·
   Rev. + ÆLFPINEEONOCX
   Stockholm. Wt. 1·017

5. Obv. + CNVT REEXA
   Rev. + ALFPOLDONOCXE
   Stockholm, 3011. Wt. 1·010

6. Obv. + CNVT RE·XANG
   Rev. + ALFPOLDONOCXE
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·122

7. Obv. + CNVT: REXAN :
   Rev. + A·L·FP.OL·D : ONOCXEN
   Pl. V, 6. Stockholm, 3012. Wt. 1·117

8. Obv. + ·CNVTR EXANGL
   Rev. + COL·AMA·NONOCXE :
   Stockholm, 3015. Wt. 1·175

9. Obv. + CNVT: R·E·XAN :
   Rev. + EDPIGG : ONOCXEN :
   Pl. V, 7. Stockholm, 3022. Wt. 1·163

10. Obv. + CNVT: R·E·XAN :
    Rev. + EDPIGONOEXEN·
    Kristiania.

11. Obv. + CNV: TRECXA :
    Rev. + GODPINE : ONOCXA
    Stockholm, 3031. Wt. 1·090

12. Obv. + CNVTR EXANG :
    Rev. + GODPIN·EONOCXE :
    Pl. V, 8. Kristiania.

5. Also at Copenhagen. 6. Also B. M. 484.
8. Fragment at Copenhagen. 9. Also at Copenhagen.
11. Also B. M. 485, and at Copenhagen.
12. Also Stockholm, 3032. Wt. 1·126.

13. OBV. + CNVTR EXANG:
REV. + ·GODPINEONOCXE:
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·131

14. OBV. + CNVT: RE·XANG:
REV. + GODPINEONOCXEN
Stockholm, 3033. Wt. 1·142

15. OBV. + CNVTR ECXA:
REV. + LIFINCONOCXE:·
Stockholm, 3037. Wt. 1·041

16. OBV. + CNVT: REXANG
REV. + LIFINCONOCXEN:
Stockholm. Wt. 1·076

17. OBV. + CNVT: R·EXANG
REV. + LIFINCC:ONOCXENE
Stockholm, 3043. Wt. 1·140

18. OBV. + CNVTR· ECXA
REV. + LIFINCONONXEN
Kristiania.

19. OBV. + CNVTR EEXA:
REV. + L·IFINCONONXEN
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·037

20. OBV. + CNVT RECXA
REV. + PVLFPINEONOCX·
Stockholm, 3051. Wt. 1·100

21. OBV. + CNVT: R·EXANG
REV. + P.V.LFPINE:·ONOCXE:
Stockholm, 3052. Wt. 1·101

14. Also at Copenhagen. 16. Also at Copenhagen.
17. Also at Copenhagen. 20. Also at Copenhagen.
21. The × on rev. is nearly +.

B. M. Type XVI; Hild. Type H.

OBV. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided; in centre, circle enclosing pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. V, 9–12.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELRIC.
2. ÆLFPINE.
3. ALFPOLD.
4. COLAMAN.
5. EDPIG.
6. GODPINE.
7. LIFINC.
8. PVLFPINE.

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1. OBV. + CN:[V] ·T:RCX
   REV. + ÆGEL·RICONOCX·
   Stockholm, 3001. Wt. ·862
2. OBV. + CNV TRECX
   REV. + ÆGEL·RICONOCXE·
   PL. V, 9. Stockholm, 3002. Wt. 1·102
3. OBV. + CNV TRECX
   REV. + ÆGELRICONOX·
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·170
4. OBV. + CNVT ·RECX
   REV. + ÆGELRICONOX·
   Stockholm. Wt. 1·145
5. OBV. + CNVT ·REC·XX
   REV. + ÆL·FPINEONOCX
   Stockholm, 3005. Wt. 1·167
6. OBV. + CNV ·TRE:
   REV. + ALFPOLDONOC·
   PL. V, 10. B. M. 486. Wt. 1·156

1. × on rev. nearly +. 2. Also at Copenhagen.
6. The sceptre sometimes divides legend in these pieces.

7. Obv. + CNV TRECX
Rev. + ALFPOLDONOC·
Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

8. Obv. + CNV ·TRE:
Rev. + COL·ĀMĀNONOCX
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·095

9. Obv. + CNV· TRECXĀ
Rev. + EDPIGONONOCXE:
Stockholm, 3021. Wt. 1·124

10. Obv. + CN/ ·TCX:
Rev. + EDPIGONNOCXN:
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·092

11. Obv. + CNV TRECXĀ
Rev. + GODPINEONOCX:
Stockholm, 3034. Wt. 1·129

12. Obv. + CNVT ·R·EC·X·:·
Rev. + GODPINEONOCXE
Pl. V, 11. Stockholm, 3035. Wt. 1·115

13. Obv. + CN/ ·TRECC:
Rev. + LIFINCONOCX:
Stockholm, 3038. Wt. 1·103

14. Obv. + CNV ·TREX:
Rev. + LIFINCONOCX:
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·165

15. Obv. + CN ĀTRRX
Rev. + LIFINCONOCXC·:·
Stockholm. Wt. 1·047

9. Also at Copenhagen. 11. Also at Copenhagen.
14. The × on rev. is nearly +; also B. M. 487.

16. OBV. + CNVT: ·RECX:
REV. + LIFINCONOCXE ·:·
Stockholm, 3039. Wt. 1·110

17. OBV. + CNV· TRECX
REV. + L·IFINCONOCXEN
PL. V, 12. Stockholm, 3040. Wt. 1·178

18. OBV. + CNVT: ·RECX:
REV. + LIIFINCONOCXEN
B. M. 489. Wt. 1·147

19. OBV. + CN ΛT[REX]
REV. + LIFINCONOXΛN:
Stockholm, 3041. Wt. 1·092

20. OBV. + CN ΛTRRX
REV. + LIFINCONOXEN·
Stockholm, 3042. Wt. 1·107

21. OBV. + CNV ·RECXΛN
REV. + ƿVLFƿINEONOCX
Stockholm, 3053. Wt. 1·154

17. Also at Copenhagen. 19. Also at Kristiania.
20. Also B. M. 488. 21. Also at Copenhagen.

B. M. Type XVII ; Hild. Type I.

OBV. Bust l., diademed; sceptre in left hand. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle and in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. VI, 13.

Moneyers:—

1. EDƿIC.
2. CODƿINE.?

1. Obv. + CNV TREX :
   Rev. + EDPIEONONOEXEN
   Pl. VI, 13. B. M. 490. Wt. 1·011

2. Stockholm 3036, Wt. ·980. This might be a Harthacnut penny. The obverse is a barbarous copy, unreadable; the reverse reads, EODPNEONN OEXENE :

HAROLD I

A.D. 1035—A.D. 1040.

B. M. Type I; Hild. Type A.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross composed of four ovals, united at their bases by two circles enclosing pellet. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. VI, 1–3.

Moneyers:—

1. E · · · · · ·
2. GODPINE.
3. LEOFPINE.
4. LIFNIC.

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1. OBV. + ·HA · · · LDREX
   REV. + E · · · · · NXANA
   Stockholm. Wt. ·801
2. OBV. + HARO ⊙LDRE
   REV. + GODPINEONOCXE·:·
   Stockholm, 805. Wt. 1·120
3. OBV. + HARO LDREX
   REV. + GODPINE⊙N⊙XCN
   PL. VI, 1. Stockholm, 806. Wt. 1·128

Moneyer No. 4 usually spells his name 'Lifinc.'

1. Half of a penny only. 2. Also at Copenhagen.

3. The × on rev. seems to have been cut C and then turned into an × nearly +.

4. OBV. + HAROL DRECX
REV. + LEOFPINEONOCX
PL. VI, 2. Stockholm, 808. Wt. 1·112

5. OBV. + HARO LDREX
REV. + LIFNICONNCOXSE ⁘
PL. VI, 3. Stockholm, 817. Wt. 1·162

4. Also at Copenhagen.

5. The E on rev. appears to be C, and there may be two pellets only.

B. M. Type V, var. c; Hild. Type B.

OBV. Bust l., diademed, in armour; in front, shield and sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Long cross voided, dividing legend, limbs united at their bases by circle, enclosing pellet: in each angle, fleur-de-lis between two pellets.

See PL. VI, 4, 5; PL. VII, 6.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPIG.
2. ÆGLRIC.
3. ÆLFPINE.
4. ÆLPINE.
5. ÆLMÆR.
6. COLAMAN.
7. EDPIG.
8. GODPINE.
9. LEOFPINE.
10. LIFINC.

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1. OBV. + HAR·O· L·DR·EC:
REV. + ÆG ELPI GON OCX
Stockholm, 792. Wt. 1·158

2. OBV. + HAR·O. LDREC ⁘
REV. + ÆG LRIC ON: OCX
Stockholm, 793. Wt. 1·129

3. Obv. + HAR OLDREC
Rev. + ÆL· FPI NEO NOCX
Stockholm, 794. Wt. 1·105

4. Obv. + HAR OLDREC
Rev. + ÆLP INE: ONO CXE
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·107

5. Obv. + HAR·· OLDRCC:
Rev. + ÆL MÆR ONO CXE
Stockholm, 795. Wt. 1·027

6. Obv. + HAR·O: L·DREC·
Rev. + ÆL MÆR ONO CXE
Stockholm, 796. Wt. 1·020

7. Obv. + HAR·O: LDREC·:·
Rev. + CO L·A: MAN OCX
Pl. VI, 4. Stockholm, 798. Wt. 1·144

8. Obv. + HARO LDRECX:
Rev. + ED PIG OVN OCX
Stockholm, 800. Wt. ·856

9. Obv. + HAR:· OLDREC
Rev. + CO DPII NCO NOC
Stockholm, 802. Wt. 1·129

10. Obv. + HARO LDRECX:
Rev. + CO DPII NCO NOC
Stockholm, 803. Wt. 1·156

11. Obv. + HARO LDRECX:
Rev. + CO DPII NEON OCX
Pl. VI, 5. Stockholm, 804. Wt. 1·160

6. One half of this penny is also in the Stockholm collection.

9, 10. The rev. of both is from the same die, a flaw running through the head of the P in Godwine. The C in his name may read E.

12. OBV. + HAR OLDREC
REV. + GO DPI NEON ; OCX
Stockholm, 807. Wt. 1·095

13. OBV. + HARO DREXA :
REV. + LE OFP INE ONO
B. M. 86. Wt. 1·168

14. OBV. + HAR : OL· DRECX
REV. + LEO PINE ONN OC[X]
Stockholm, 809. Wt. 1·021

15. OBV. + HAR· OLDREC·
REV. + LIF INC: ONO CX :
Stockholm, 810. Wt. 1·047

16. OBV. + HAR· OLDREC·
REV. + LIF INCC ONO CXE
PL. VII, *6*. Stockholm, 816. Wt. 1·124

17. OBV. + HARO : LDREC
REV. + LIF INCC ONO CXE
Stockholm, 815. Wt. 1·179

18. OBV. + HARO LDRECX
REV. + LIF INC ONO CXE :
Stockholm, 811. Wt. 1·160

19. OBV. + HAROL· ·DRECX.
REV. + L·IF INC ONO XA·N
Stockholm, 812. Wt. 1·075

20. OBV. + HAR· OLDREC·
REV. [ ]X ONO ꟻNIꟻ Iꟻ+
Stockholm, 813. Wt. 1·105

17. Stockholm 814 seems to be the same as this, though the last two letters on the obv. are illegible. It weighs 1·150.

B. M. Type V; Hild. Type B, var. a.

OBV. The same as last type.

REV. Trefoil of three pellets in each angle of cross: otherwise the same as last type.

See PL. VII, 7.

Moneyer:—

1. ÆLPIC.

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1. OBV. + HAR·O· L·DR·EC:
REV. + ÆL PIC: ONN ONX
PL. VII, 7. Stockholm, 797. Wt. 1·166

1. The pennies of these 'long cross voided' types are arranged here after Hildebrand, and not in the B. M. order.

Hild. Type B, var. b.

OBV. Bust to l., draped and diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. The same as B. M. Type V, var. c, and Hild. Type B on page 39 above.

See PL. VII, 8.

Moneyer:—

1. COLAMAN.

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1. OBV. + HA·RO· LDREX
REV. + COL AMA NON OCX
Stockholm, 799. Wt. 1·190

HARTHACNVT

A.D. 1040—A.D. 1042.

B. M. Type I, var. a; Hild. Type A, a.

OBV. Bust r., diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross composed of four ovals, united at their bases by two circles enclosing pellet. Around, inscription; outer circle.

See PL. VII, 1–3.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELRIC.
2. ÆGELPI.
3. GODPINE.
4. LAFDENSIC.

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1. OBV. + HARÐA CNVTRE
   REV. + ÆGELRICON : OCXE :
   PL. VII, 1. Stockholm, 154. Wt. 1·132

2. OBV. + HARÐA CNVTRE
   REV. + ÆGELPI : ON : OE + E :
   PL. VII, 2. Stockholm, 156. Wt. 1·137

Moneyers' names. Ægelwi may be either for Ægelwig or Ægelwine. For the fourth name see also Halfdenis in Tpye IV of Edward the Confessor.

3. OBV. + HARD CNVTRE
REV. + GODPINEON : OEX :
PL. VII, 3. Stockholm, 160. Wt. 1·154.

4. OBV. + HARD CNVTRE
REV. + L·A·FDENSICONO + E·
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·104

3. The last × on rev. is nearly +. Stockholm 164 is half of a penny, but the moneyer's name being absent and the legend ending 'ncaxsa,' it seems hardly safe to assign it to Oxford.

B. M. Type II; Hild. Type B.

OBV. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre in left hand. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle and in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. VII, 4–7.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELRIC.
2. ÆGELPIG.
3. ÆGELPINE.
4. ÆGLPI.
5. ÆLPINE.
6. EDVIG.
7. GODPINE.
8. LIFINC.

---

1. OBV. + HARÐ CNVTR
REV. + ÆGELRICONNOXAN
PL. VII, 4. Stockholm, 155. Wt. 1·035

2. OBV. + HARÐ CNVTRE
REV. + ÆGELPIGONNOCXEN
PL. VII, 5. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·026

3. OBV. + HARD ACNVR
REV. + ÆCLPIGONOCCENE
Copenhagen. Wt. 1·080

4. OBV. + HARÐ CNVT :
REV. + ÆCELPINEONOXA :
B. M. 16. Wt. ·989

5. OBV. + HARDA CNVTRE
REV. + ÆCLPINEON·C⊙X·E :·
PL. VII, 6. Stockholm, 157. Wt. 1·187

6. OBV. + HARD ACNVRE
REV. + ÆCLPIONOCXANAFO
Kristiania.

7. OBV. + HARÐA CNVTRE
REV. + ÆLPINEONNOCXENE
Stockholm, 158. Wt. 1·152

8. OBV. + HARÐ ACNVT
REV. + EDVIGONDROXANA
Stockholm, 159. Wt. 1·161

9. OBV. + HARÐA CNVTRE·
REV. + GODPINEON⊙CXENE
PL. VII, 7. Stockholm, 161. Wt. 1·090

10. OBV. + HARÐA CNVTRE
REV. + GODPINEONNOCXENE :
Stockholm, 162. Wt. 1·160

11. OBV. + HARÐ ACNVTR[E]
REV. + GODPINE⊙NCOXE :·
B. M. 19. Wt. ·977

12. OBV. + HAÐA CNVTR
REV. + LIFINCONNOCXEN :
Stockholm, 163. Wt. 1·112

5. Also B. M. 17. 8. Also B. M. 18.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

A.D. 1042—A.D. 1066.

B. M. Type I; Hild. Type A.

OBV. Bust l., with radiate crown. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. VIII, 1–4.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPIC.
2. ÆLPINE.
3. BRIHTP[OLD].
4. CODRIC.
5. CODPINE.
6. HÆRCOD.

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1. OBV. + EDPER· DREEX:
   REV. + ÆCELPICONONOCX
   Stockholm, 617. Wt. 1·110

2. OBV. + EDPE DREXA
   REV. + ÆCELPICONOCX
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·159

3. OBV. + EDPER DREXA
   REV. + ÆLPINEEONNONOCX
   PL. VIII, 1. Stockholm, 621. Wt. 1·062

3. Owing to a slight flaw on the flan the third letter on the obv. appears to be R. Another from the same die at Copenhagen has not this appearance.

4. OBV. + EDPE: RDRRE
REV. + ÆLPINEEONOCXE
Stockholm, 622. Wt. 1·118

5. OBV. + EDPER DREXA
REV. + BRIHTPONNOCXEN
PL. VIII, 2. Stockholm, 623. Wt. 1·125

6. OBV. + EDPER: DREXA
REV. + GODRICONONOCX:
Stockholm, 627. Wt. 1·127

7. OBV. + EDPER: DREXA
REV. + GODDRICONONOX
Stockholm, 626. Wt. 1·161

8. OBV. + EDPER DREX.
REV. + GODPINEONOCXEN
PL. VIII, 3. Stockholm, 628. Wt. 1·151

9. OBV. + EDPER DREXA
REV. + HÆRGODONOCXE
Stockholm, 631. Wt. 1·140

10. OBV. + EDPE DREXA
REV. + HÆRGODONOCXE
PL. VIII, 4. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

5. Another at Stockholm weighs 1·120. Another at Copenhagen.

8. Another at Copenhagen.

B. M. Type II; Hild. Type B.

OBV. Bust l., diademed. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided: pellet in centre. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. VIII, 5, 6.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLPIN.
2. GODPINE.

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1. OBV. + EDPE RDRE
   REV. + ÆLPINONOCX·
   PL. VIII, 5. B. M. 1112. Wt. 1·110

2. OBV. + EDPE RDREX
   REV. + GODPINEONOX·
   PL. VIII, 6. Stockholm, 629. Wt. 1·090

3. OBV. + EDPE RDRE
   REV. + GODPINEONOXA
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·188

1. But for their weight these pennies might at first sight be mistaken for half-pennies owing to their small size.

B. M. Type II, var. b.

OBV. The same as the preceding type; but in front of bust, sceptre.

REV. The same as preceding type.

Moneyer:—

1. LEOFPINE.

---

1. OBV. + EDPE RE[·C]·
   REV. + LEOFPINEOXE
   B. M. 113. Wt. 1·088

1. This penny is drawn on p. 420, Vol. II of the B. M. Catalogue of English Coins. It is difficult to account for the

appearance of this isolated piece. There are no others in the B. M. Collection, nor at Stockholm, so that it can hardly belong to a general issue. Perhaps the sceptre is an error on the part of the die engraver, in which case the penny really belongs to the preceding type.

B. M. Type III; Hild. Type C.

OBV. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Over short cross voided, quadrilateral ornament with three pellets at each angle and one in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. VIII, 7–9.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPIG.
2. BRIHTPOLD.
3. GODPINE.
4. HÆRGOD.

---

1. OBV. + EDPE· ·RDREX·:·
   REV. + ÆGELPIGONONXE
   PL. VIII, 7. Stockholm, 616. Wt. 1·106
2. OBV. + ·EDRE RDREX·
   REV. + ÆGELPIGONOCXENE
   Stockholm, 618. Wt. 1·116
3. OBV. + EDPER ·DRE·X.
   REV. + BRIHTPOLDONOCX
   PL. VIII, 8. Stockholm, 624. Wt. 1·157
4. OBV. + EDPE ·RDREX·
   REV. + BRIHTPOLDONOCX.
   Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

5. OBV. + EDPER ·DREX·:·
REV. + ᗡODPINE:ONOᑕ·XE
PL. VIII, 9. Stockholm, 630. Wt. 1·094

6. OBV. + EDPER: DREX·
REV. + HÆRᗡOD·ONOᑕX·:·
Stockholm, 632. Wt. 1·075

7. OBV. + E[DPE: RDREX:]
REV. + HÆREᗡONNONO[ᑕX]
Stockholm, 633. Wt. 1·141

7. The reading of this penny is very doubtful.

B. M. Type IV; Hild. Type D.

OBV. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Long cross voided, each limb terminating in crescent and dividing legend; in centre, circle enclosing pellet, and in angles PAᑕX. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. VIII, 10–12.

Moneyers:—
1. ÆᗡELRIᑕ.
2. ÆᗡELPI.
3. ÆLPINE.
4. HALFDENIS.

---

1. OBV. + EDPAR ·DRECX.
REV. +Æᗡ ELR ICON OᑕXA
PL. VIII, 10. Stockholm, 613. Wt. 1·121

1. With the exception of PL. VIII, 12, all of these pennies have large pellets in the crescents on rev. See PL. VIII, 10 and 11.

2. OBV. + EDPARD RECX ·:·
REV. +ÆEG ELP IONE OXA :
Stockholm, 614. Wt. 1·152

3. OBV. + EDPARD RECX ·:
REV. +ÆLPI NEON ONO : CXA
PL. VIII, 11. Stockholm, 619. Wt. 1·155

4. OBV. + EDPE ·RDREX
REV. +ÆL· PINE ONQ XAN
Stockholm, 620. Wt. 1·096

5. OBV. + EDPARD ·RECX :
REV. +HA L·FD ENIS ONOX
B. M. Wt. 1·145

B. M. Type IV, var. a; Hild. Type D, var. a.
OBV. As before.
REV. Similar; short cross voided, with no crescents at ends of limbs. Around, inscription; outer circle.

Moneyer :—
1. BRIHPOLD.

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1. OBV. + EDPER DREX :·
REV. + BRIHPOLDONNOCXE
PL. VIII, 13. B. M. 1114. Wt. 1·151

1. The moneyer is no doubt Brihtwold. The third letter on the obverse is nearly D.

B. M. Type V; Hild. Type E.
OBV. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre (pommée). Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided, the limbs gradually expanding and united at base by two circles. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. IX, 1.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLPI.
2. B · · · · · ·.
3. EIELPINE.

---

1. OBV. + EDPE :· ·RDREX.
   REV. + ÆL·PIONOXENEFOR
   P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.
2. OBV. DPE :
   REV. + B ONOXE ·:·
   Stockholm, 625.
3. OBV. + EDPE : ·RDREX :
   REV. + EIELPINEONOXENE·
   B. M. 1115. Wt. 1·541

2. Half only: the moneyer may be Brihtwold or Brihtred, probably the former. This is the last of the Oxford pennies in the National Collection at Stockholm. The author possesses one by Brihtwold and two by Swetman, which he has not included here as they seem to be forgeries: he has also seen others of a similar character.

B. M. Type VII; Hild. Type F.

OBV. Bust r., bearded, wearing pointed helmet and holding in r. hand sceptre, which ends in cross, fleur-de-lis or three pellets. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; in centre annulet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. IX, 15–18.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPI.
2. ÆLPIG.
3. ÆLFPIG.
4. ÆLFPII
5. ÆLPII.
6. ELPINE.

---

1. OBV. + EDPAR· DREI
   REV. + ÆGEL·P.IOИ·XENEFOI
   PL. IX, 15. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

2. OBV. + EDPER: DREX
   REV. + ÆLPIGONOCEXENAF
   PL. IX, 17. B. M. 1117. Wt. 1·313

3. OBV. + EDPER· DREX
   REV. + ÆLFPIGGONOC·XENE
   PL. IX, 18. B. M. 1116. Wt. 1·379

4. OBV. + EDPA·· ·RDR
   REV. + ÆL·FPIIONOXENEFO
   Copenhagen. Wt. 1·358

5. OBV. + EDPAR DREI
   REV. + ÆLPIIONOCXENEFO
   PL. IX, 16. B. M. 1118. Wt. 1·301

6. OBV. + ĖDPER· DREI·
   REV. + ELPINEEONOCXEN
   Sir J. Evans.

B. M. Type IX.

OBV. King seated towards r. on throne, generally bearded, wearing crown surmounted by three balls; he holds in r. hand

long sceptre, and in l. orb surmounted by cross. Around, inscription: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided; annulet or pellet frequently in centre; in each angle a martlet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. IX, 19–25.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆÐELPINE.
2. ÆLFPIÐ.
3. BRIHTPOLD.
4. EADPINE.
5. ELPINE.
6. ÐODPINE.
7. HÆRÐOD.
8. SETMAN.

---

1. OBV. EADPARDREXANÐLO
   REV. + ÆÐLPINEOИИOXNE:
   Bodleian Library.

2. OBV. EADPARDREXANÐLOV
   REV. + ÆÐ[EL]PINOИИOXNEF
   Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

3. OBV. EADPEARDREXANÐO
   REV. +ÆLFPIÐONOX:
   PL. IX, 19. B. M. 1119. Wt. 1·333

4. OBV. EADPARDREXANÐLO
   REV. +BRIHTPOLDONOX:
   PL. IX, 22. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

5. OBV. EADPARDREXA·NÐLOV
   REV. +EADPINEOИИOXИE:
   PL. IX, 21. B. M. 1120. Wt. 1·385

6. OBV. EADPARDREXANÐLO
   REV. +ELPINEOИИOXИE ·:·
   PL. IX, 20. B. M. 1121. Wt. 1·327

7. OBV. EADPARDREXANGO
REV. +GODPINEONOXNF
PL. IX, 23. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·349

8. OBV. EADPARDREXANGL·
REV. +HÆRGODONOXNEF:
PL. IX, 24. B. M. 1122. Wt. 1·383

9. OBV. EADARDREXANGLOV
REV. +SETMANONOXEN·:
PL. IX, 25. B. M. 1123. Wt. 1·390

9. The moneyer's name is probably Swetman.

B. M. Type XI.

OBV. Bust r., bearded; wearing crown of two arches, surmounted by three balls; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided, each limb terminating in incurved segment of a circle; in centre, pellet. Around, inscription: outer circle.

See PL. X, 26–29.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPINE.
2. ÆLFPIG.
3. ÆLFPI:
4. ÆLPI:
5. BRIHTRED.
6. HAREGOD.

---

1. OBV. + EADPARD RDRE
REV. + ÆGELPINEONOXENEX:
PL. X, 27. B. M. 1124. Wt. 1·398

2. OBV. + EADPAR RDRE
REV. + ÆLFPIGONNOXИ·E :
B. M. 1125. Wt. 1·329

3. OBV. + EADPARD RDRE
REV. + ÆLFPI : ONOXENEXFO
PL. X, 26. B. M. 1126. Wt. 1·296

4. OBV. + EADPAR RDRE
REV. + ÆLPI : ONOXENEX·
B. M. 1127. Wt. 1·313

5. OBV. + EADPARD RDRE
REV. + BRIHTRED OИO + :
Sir J. Evans.

6. OBV. + EADPARD RDRE
REV. + BRIHTREDONOXENE
PL. X, 28. B. M. 1128. Wt. 1·238

7. OBV. + EADPARD RDRE
REV. + BRIHTREDONOXENEX
C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·251

8. OBV. + EADPAR· RDRE
REV. + HAREGODONOXENEX
B. M. 1129. Wt. 1·352

9. OBV. + EADPAR· RDRE
REV. + HAREGODONOXENEX
PL. X, 29. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

3. The photograph is from a penny in the possession of the author.

9. This is from a different die, with A on the rev. instead of Λ and the incurved segments cut straight. On all of these pennies it is usually hard to decide whether it is A or Λ, O or ⊙.

B. M. Type XIII.

OBV. Bust facing, bearded; wearing arched crown. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Small cross pattée. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. X, 30–33.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPI.
2. BRIHTPOLD.
3. HARGOD.
4. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + ·EADPARDREXAN·
   REV. + ÆLFPIONOXENEF
   PL. X, 30. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·109

2. OBV. + EADPARDREXA
   REV. + BRIHTPOLDONOXE
   PL. X, 31. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·100

3. OBV. + ·EADPARDREA·
   REV. + HARGODONOXNA
   PL. X, 32. Sir J. Evans.

4. OBV. + EADPARDREXANG
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXENE
   PL. X, 33. B. M. 1130. Wt. 1·058.

3. The reading of the obverse is rather doubtful. The cross seems to be made of four pellets.

B. M. Type XV.

OBV. Bust r., wearing arched crown, from which depends a fillet, terminating in three pellets; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided; annulet or pellet in centre; in each angle pyramid springing from inner circle and terminating in pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. X, 34–35.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPI.
2. BRIHTPOLD.
3. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. EADPARDREX
   REV. + ÆLFPIONOXENEFOI
   C. L. Stainer.
2. OBV. EADPARDREX
   REV. + BRIHTPOLDONOX:
   PL. X, 34. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.
3. OBV. EADPARDREX
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXENEFO
   PL. X, 35. C. L. Stainer.

HAROLD II

A. D. 1066.

B. M. Type I.

OBV. Head to l., wearing arched crown from which depend two fillets; in front, sceptre pommée. Around, inscription: outer circle.

REV. Across field and between two lines PAX. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. X, 1, 2.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPI.
2. BRIHTPOLD.

---

1. OBV. + HAROLDREXANG
   REV. + ÆLFPIONOXENEFO
   PL. X, 1. B. M. 77. Wt. 1·253
2. OBV. + HAROLDREXAN
   REV. + ÆLFPIONOXENFO
   Hunter Coll., Glasgow.
3. OBV. + HAROLDREXAG
   REV. + BRIHTPOLDONOXEI
   PL. X, 2. B. M. 78. Wt. 1·272

WILLIAM I

A. D. 1066—A. D. 1087.

Type I; Hawkins 233.

OBV. Bust l., wearing crown; in front, sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross, each limb ending in three loops, pierced by annulet enclosing pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XI, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. HEREGOD.

---

1. OBV. + PILLEMVSREXI
   REV. + HEREGODONOXEN
   PL. XI, 1. Sir J. Evans.

Known as the 'Harold' type. The cross on rev. is called flory by some. The British Museum Catalogue concludes with the reign of Harold II, so for convenience reference is now made to the Type numbers in *The Silver Coins of England*, by Edward Hawkins.

Type II; Hawkins 234.

OBV. Bust facing, wearing wide crown. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided, pierced by annulet enclosing pellet, each limb ending in pellet and two crescents; pyramid, ending in pellet, springing from each angle in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XI, 2–5.

Moneyers :—

1. BRIHTRED.
2. ELFPI.
3. GODPINE.
4. HEREGOD.
5. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLEMVREX
   REV. + BRIHTREDONOXCI
   PL. XI, 3. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·221

2. OBV. + PILLEMVREX
   REV. + ELFPIONOXEFORD
   PL. XI, 2. B. M. Wt. 1·290

3. OBV. + PILLEMVSREX
   REV. + ELFPIONOXEFORD :
   C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·318

4. OBV. + PILLEMVSREXA
   REV. + GODPINEONONXENEF
   PL. XI, 4. Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

5. OBV. + PILLEMVSREXN
   REV. + PVLFPIOIIOXEII
   PL. XI, 5. B. M. Wt. 1·217

Known as the 'Bonnet' type. Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton's list in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* gives Heregod as a moneyer of this type, HEREGOD ON OXENE. There is an interesting article by the same author 'On the coins of William I and II, and the sequence of the types' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth series, No. 7, from which the descriptive names of each type will be given in these notes.

Type III ; Hawkins 236.

OBV. Bust facing, wearing crown, within a portal. Around inscription, divided by portal and bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross, with limbs curving inwards from head to head and ending in a trefoil of three loops, largely pierced; annulet in centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XI, 6–7.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGELPI.
2. BRIHTRED.
3. GODPINE.
4. HARGOD.
5. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLEMVSREX
   REV. + ÆGELPIONOXENEI
   Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

2. OBV. + PILLEMVSREX
   REV. + ÆGELPIONOXENEFO
   PL. XI, 6. B. M. Wt. 1·298

3. OBV. + PILLEMVSREX
   REV. + GODPINEONOXENE
   Montagu Sale Catalogue, Lot 200.

4. OBV. + PILLEMVSREX
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXENEFOI
   PL. XI, 7. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

Known as the 'Canopy' type. Mr. Carlyon-Britton's list also gives BRIHTRED ON OXEN, HARGOD ON OXENEF, HIERGOD ON OXEN and PVLFPI ON OXENEF.

Type IV; Hawkins 237.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, between two sceptres. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Cross flory, pierced by annulet, from each angle of which springs a sceptre bottonnée, forming another cross. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XI, 8–11.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆLFPI.
2. GODPINE.
3. HARGOD.
4. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLEMREXANGLO
   REV. + ÆLFPIONOXENIIE
   PL. XI, 8. Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

2. OBV. + PILLEMREXANGLO
   REV. + GODPINEONOXENI
   PL. XI, 9. B. M. Wt: 1·257

3. OBV. + PILLEMREXANGLOI
   REV. + HARGODONOXENEF
   PL. XI, 10. B. M. Wt. 1·262

4. OBV. + PILLEMREXANGLO
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXENIIF
   PL. XI, 11. B. M. Wt. 1·316

Known as the '2 sceptres' type.

Type V; Hawkins 238.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between two circles.

REV. Cross bottonnée, pierced by annulet; in the angles are the heads of a second cross, the limbs curving inwards from head to head and ending in pellet.

See PL. XI, 12.

Moneyer:—

1. GODPINE.

---

1. OBV. + PILLEMREXANI
   REV. + GODPINEONOXSNE
   PL. XI, 12. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

Known as the 'first 2 stars' type. The second cross on rev. is often called a quadrilateral ornament and has appeared on previous types: ancient stone crosses occur in this form however. The cross here is merely turned round so that the heads rest in the four spaces left by the first one.

Type VI; Hawkins 239.

OBV. Bust r., crowned, holding sceptre in front. Around, inscription between two circles divided by bust.

REV. Cross pattée, pierced by annulet; in each angle, hanging from inner circle, a trefoil of three loops. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XII, 1–2.

Moneyers:—

1. BRIHTRED.
2. HARGOD.
3. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLELMREXI
   REV. + BRIHTREDONOXSE
   Bodleian Library.

2. OBV. + PILLELMREX
   REV. + HARGODONOXSN
   PL. XII, 13. B. M. Wt. 1·319

3. OBV. + PILLELMREX
   REV. + HAREGONOXSNEF·
   B. M. Wt. 1·265

4. OBV. + PILLELMREXI
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXSNEF
   PL. XII, 14. Hunter Coll., Glasgow.

5. OBV. + PILLELMRE[X]
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXSE
   Ashmolean, Oxford.

Known as the 'Profile Sceptre' type.

Type VII; Hawkins 241.

OBV. Bust half-right, crowned, holding sceptre on r. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross pattée; in each angle large annulet containing a letter of PAXS. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XII, 15–16.

Moneyers:—

1. BRIHTRED.
2. SPETMAN.
3. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLELMRIEX
   REV. + BRIHTREDONOXN
   B. M. Wt. 1·403

2. OBV. + PILLELMRIEX
   REV. + BRIHTREDONOXNE
   B. M. Wt. 1·380

3. OBV. + PILLELMRIEX
REV. + BRIHTRIEDONOXSI
B. M. Wt. 1·365

4. OBV. + PILLELMREX
REV. + BRIHTRE[D]ONOC·
B. M. Wt. 1·408

5. OBV. + PILLELMREX
REV. + SPETMANONOXN
B. M. Wt. 1·340

6. OBV. + PILLELMREX
REV. + SPETMANONOXNE
PL. XII, 15. B. M. Wt. 1·348

7. OBV. + PILLELMREX
REV. + SPETMANONOXI
B. M. Wt. 1·360

8. OBV. + PILLELMRREX
REV. + SPPETMANONOXI
B. M. Wt. 1·385

9. OBV. + PILLELMRREX
REV. + PVLFPIONOXNEF
PL. XII, 16. B. M. Wt. 1·381

Known as the 'Paxs' type. Mr. Carlyon-Britton's list gives Lifwine as a moneyer, LIFPINE ON OXEI.

Type VIII; Hawkins 243.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, holding sword to l. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross pattée; in the angles are the heads of a second cross, the limbs curving inwards from head to head

and ending in trefoils of three loops. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XII, 17–18.

Moneyers :—

1. BRIHTRED.
2. PVLFPI.

---

1. OBV. + PILLELMREX[A]
   REV. + BRIHTREDONOXNI
   PL. XII, 17. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

2. OBV. + PILLELMREXA
   REV. + PVLFPIONOXSNEF
   PL. XII, 18. B. M. Wt. 1·390

Called the 'Sword and quadrilateral ornament' type. The 'ornament' on the reverse, as it is sometimes called, is really a cross which has appeared already on the third type of this reign. This type is placed sixth in order by Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

WILLIAM II

A. D. 1087—A. D. 1100.

Type I; Hawkins 244.

OBV. Bust r., crowned, holding sword in front. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross pattée, pierced by annulet, from each angle of which springs a sceptre flory, forming another cross. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XII, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. ÞVLFÞI.

---

1. OBV. + ÞILLELMREXI
   REV. + ÞVLFÞIONO+NE
   PL. XII, 1. Sir J. Evans. Wt. 1·418

Known as the 'Profile Sword' type. Mr. Carlyon-Britton's list gives Brunstan as a moneyer, BRVNSTAN ON OXN.

Type II; Hawkins 246.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, holding sword on l. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross pattée, pierced by annulet, within quatrefoil, each cusp of which ends in a pellet. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XII, 2.

Moneyer:—

1. ꝑVLFꝑI.

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1. OBV. + ꝑILLELMREX
   REV. + ꝑVLFꝑIONOXNE

B. M. Wt. 1·361

Known as the 'Sword, Cross, and pellets' type. Sotheby Sale Catalogue, 1898, of the Allen Collection, gives BRIHTRIC ON OXE and ꝑVLFꝑI ON OXENE as belonging to this type.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton's list BRIHTRIED ON OXEN, BRVNRIED ON OXEI, ꝑVLMIER ON OXEI.

Type III; Hawkins 247; called the 'Sword and Cross Flory' type.

Type IV; Hawkins 248; called the 'Sceptre and Star' type.

No Oxford pennies of these two types seem to have come to light so far.

Type V; Hawkins 248.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, between two stars. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Short cross voided, each limb ending in a crescent, pierced by annulet, from each angle of which springs a sceptre ending in annulet forming another cross.

See PL. XII, 3–5.

Moneyers:—

1. ÆGLꝑINE.
2. GODꝑIN.
3. SꝑETMAN.

1. OBV. + PILLELMREI
   REV. + IEGLPINEONOXI
   PL. XII, 3. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

2. OBV. + PILLELMREI
   REV. + GODPINONOXNI
   PL. XII, 4. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

3. OBV. + PILLEL·M[ ]
   No stars in field.
   REV. + SPETMANONOXI
   PL. XII, 5. B. M. Wt. 1·392

Known as the 'second 2 stars' type.

HENRY I

A. D. 1100—A. D. 1135.

Type I; Hawkins 251.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, between two annulets. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross flory, pierced, within quatrefoil, each cusp of which ends in three pellets. Around, inscription between two circles, the inner one cutting off a large part of the heads of the quatrefoil.

See PL. XIII, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. ÆGLNOÐ.

---

1. OBV. + HNRICVSRE
   REV. + IEGLNOÐONOXNE
   PL. XIII, 1. B. M. Wt. 1·266

The Type number will now follow the arrangement in *A Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I*, by W. J. Andrew, of Cadster, Whaley Bridge. The Hawkins number will also be given. The Oxford pennies of this reign are very scarce. Those of Type XIV, Hawkins 262, have come to light quite recently, so that other types (there are fifteen) may yet appear from time to time.

Type XIV; Hawkins 262.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, with sceptre on left and star on right; three pellets on each side of the face beneath crown. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross of pellets, star in centre, within pointed quatre-

foil; on each head of which are three annulets, a fleur-de-lis springing from inner circle in each angle. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIII, 2–3.

Moneyers:—

1. AILNOT.
2. SAVVI.

---

1. OBV. + hE[NRICV]SR:
   REV. + [AIL]NOT: ON: OXIN:
   B. M.

2. OBV. + hENRICVSR:
   REV. + ····:· N: OXINEFO
   PL. XIII, 2. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

3. OBV. + [hENR]ICVSR:
   REV. + SAVVI: ON: OXENNE
   PL. XIII, 3. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

4. OBV. + [hE]NRICVSR[:]
   REV. + SAVV[I: ON: OXE]NFOR:
   C. L. Stainer.

Type XV; Hawkins 255.

OBV. Bust half-left, crowned, holding sceptre on l. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross flory; in each angle the heads of a second cross flory, the limbs curving inwards from head to head. Pellet in each piercing at centre. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIII, 4–5.

Moneyers:—

1. RAVLF, RAPVLF.
2. SAGRIM.

---

1. OBV. + hENRICVS
   REV. + RAVLF : ON : OXEN
   B. M. Wt. 1·288

2. OBV. + hENRICVS :
   REV. + RĀPVLF : ON : OXENN
   PL. XIII, 4. B. M.

3. OBV. + hENRICVS :
   REV. + SAGRIM : O· :· · ·
   PL. XIII, 5. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

4. OBV. + hENRICVS :
   REV. + SAG[RI]M : ON : OXE
   L. A. Lawrence.

1. This reading is doubtful.

3, 4. These pennies are badly struck and difficult to read. By the kindness of the owners I was able to obtain casts of both of them.

STEPHEN

A. D. 1135—A. D. 1154.

Hawkins 268.

OBV. Bust facing, wearing crown, sceptre on left. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Short cross voided, each limb ending in pellet; in angles, fleurs-de-lis springing from inner circle. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIII, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. [ꝑʌLTER].

---

1. OBV. + STIEFNE
REV. + ꝑʌL[TERO]NOXCE
PL. XIII, 1. B. M.

Very uncertain, but the description of the type and the photograph may prove useful hereafter.

Hawkins 269.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, sceptre on left. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross pattée voided, each limb ending in three pellets; mullet pierced in each angle. Around, inscription between two circles.

Moneyer:—

1. [GIhAN].

1. OBV. + STIEFNE
   REV. + ꝸIhAN : ON[OXE]N

Kindly communicated by Mr. W. J. Andrew, who describes it as a 'not very certain attribution,' and was unable to state where the penny was.

Hawkins 270.

OBV. Bust r., crowned, in front sceptre. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by bust.

REV. Cross moline, the heads meeting on either side and becoming flory inwards. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIII, 2–3.

Moneyers:—

1. ꝸAhAN.
2. RA · · · ·.
3. SPETINꝸ.
4. · · · · · OD.
5. · · ELIꝸ.

---

1. OBV. + STIEFNERE
   REV. + ꝸAhAN : ON : OXEN

2. OBV. + STIFNEREX
   REV. + ꝸAhAN : ON : OXEN

3. OBV. + · · · · · NE
   REV. + RA · · · · · OXEN :
   W. J. Andrew.

4. OBV. + STIEFNE
   REV. + SVETINꝸ : ON : OX

5. OBV. + STIEFNE
   REV. + SPETING : ON : OXE

6. OBV. + STIEFNER :
   REV. + SPETIG : ON : OXE

7. OBV. + STIEFNE
   REV. + SPETIG : ON : OXE

8. OBV. + [ST]IEFNE
   REV. + · · · · OD : ON: O · · ·
   PL. XIII, 3. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

9. REV. + · · ELIGON OXE
   Montagu Collection.

Another penny in the Montagu Sale Catalogue is described as, *Obv.* STIEFN. *Rev.* + SPETIN[C] ON OX. Another in the B. M. Collection seems to be the same as No. 6, and is illustrated, PL. XIII, 2. The name of the moneyer of No. 3 may be Raulf, that of No. 8 possibly Hargod, Halegod or even Ailnoth. If No. 9 is correctly described in the Catalogue, his name might be Snelig, otherwise Sneling, a local name. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 were kindly communicated to me by Mr. W. J. Andrew, who was unable to say, however, where the pennies were.

MATILDA

A.D. 1141—A.D. 1142.

Type, the same as Stephen, Hawkins 270.

See PL. XIII, 1.

Moneyer:—

1. SVET[ING].

---

1. OBV. + · · TILDI : IM · ·
   REV. + SVET · · : ON : OX :
   PL. XIII, 1. B. M. Wt. 1·057

HENRY II

A. D. 1154—A. D. 1180.

Hawkins 285.

OBV. Bust facing, crowned, sceptre on left. Around, inscription divided by bust: outer circle.

REV. Cross pattée, with small cross pattée in each angle. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIII, 1–2.

Moneyers:—

1. ĀDĀM.
2. ĀSC · · · ·.
3. ROGIER.

---

1. OBV. + hENRIREXĀNGL
   REV. + ĀDĀM : ON : OXENE
   B. M. Wt. 1·460

2. OBV. + hENRIREXĀNGL
   REV. + ĀDĀM : ON : OXENFO
   PL. XIII, 1. B. M. Wt. 1·240

3. OBV. + hENRIREXĀNGL
   REV. + ĀSC · · · ON : OXEN
   PL. XIII, 2. B. M. Wt. 1·440

4. OBV. + hENRIREXĀNGL
   REV. + ROGIER : ON : OXENF
   B. M. Wt. 1·274

3. The moneyer's name is probably Ascetil. These pennies were current from A. D. 1154–1180. Sometimes called the 'Tealby' type.

HENRY II–III

A. D. 1180—A. D. 1248.

Short-Cross Pennies, Class I.

OBV. Head facing, crowned, with two curls on left and five on right. Around, inscription, between two circles, divided by hand holding sceptre on left.

REV. Short cross voided, each limb ending in two pellets; cross of four pellets in each angle. Around, inscription between two circles.

See PL. XIV, 1–6.

Moneyers:—

1. ꟷSRꞒTIL.
2. IꞒFRꞒI.
3. OVVꞒIN.
4. RIꞒꟷRD.
5. RODBꞒRT.
6. SꟷGꟷR.

---

1. OBV. hꞒNRIꞒVS·R ꞒX
   REV. +ꟷSRꞒTIL·ON·OXꞒN
   PL. XIV, 1. B. M. Wt. 1·430
2. OBV. hꞒNRIꞒVS·R ꞒX
   REV. +IꞒFRꞒI·ON·OXꞒNꞒ
   PL. XIV, 2. B. M. Wt. 1·404
3. OBV. hꞒNRIꞒVS·R ꞒX·
   REV. +OVVꞒIN·ON·OXꞒN
   PL. XIV, 3. B. M. Wt. 1·477
4. OBV. hꞒNRIꞒVS·R ꞒX
   REV. +RIꞒꟷRD·ON·OXꞒ
   B. M. Wt. 1·395

5. OBV. hENRICVS·R EX
REV. +RICARD·ON·OXEN
PL. XIV, 4. B. M. Wt. 1·467

6. OBV. hENRICVS·R EX
REV. +RODBERT·ON·OXEN
PL. XIV, 5. B. M. Wt. 1·385

7. OBV. hENRICVS·R EX
REV. +SAGAR·ON·OXENE
PL. XIV, 6. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·505

The date assigned to this class is A. D. 1180–1189.

Short-Cross Pennies, Class II.

None. The type is similar to the previous one, but of poorer workmanship. The date assigned is A. D. 1189–1208.

Short-Cross Pennies, Class III.

OBV. As before, but only two curls on each side of face which enclose pellets.
REV. As before.

See PL. XIV, 7–9.

Moneyers:—
1. AILWINE.
2. hENRI.
3. MILES.

---

1. OBV. hENRICVS REX
REV. +AILWINE·ON·OC
Sir J. Evans.

2. OBV. hENRICVSR EX
REV. +ÆILWINE·ON·OC
B. M. Wt. 1·490

3. OBV. hENRICVSRE ·X·
REV. +ÆILWINE·ON·OCS
PL. XIV, 7. B. M. Wt. 1·428

4. OBV. hENRICVS·R EX
REV. +hENRI·ON·OCS
B. M. Wt. 1·452

5. OBV. hENRICVSR EX
REV. +hENRI·ON·OCSE
B. M. Wt. 1·423

6. OBV. hENRICVSRE ·X·
REV. +hENRI·ON·OCSE
PL. XIV, 8. B. M. Wt. 1·375

7. OBV. hENRICVSR EX
REV. +MILES·ON·OCSE
B. M. Wt. 1·381

8. OBV. hENRICVSRE ·X·
REV. +MILES·ON·OCSE
PL. XIV, 9. B. M. Wt. 1·430

9. OBV. hENRICVSR EX
REV. +MILES·ON·OCSEN
B. M. Wt. 1·422

The date assigned is A.D. 1208–1216.

Short-Cross Pennies, Class IV.

Henry and Miles are mentioned in some lists as moneyers of this type, which is similar to the previous one, but there are three curls on each side of the face. The date assigned is A. D. 1216–1222.

Short-Cross Pennies, Class V.

OBV. Similar to the previous type, with three curls on each side of face. Workmanship poorer; the head placed much lower down.

REV. As before.

See PL. XIV, 10.

Moneyer:—

1. hɑLIS.

---

1. OBV. hɑNRICVSR ɑX
REV. +hɑLISON·OXɑNɑ
PL. XIV, 10. B. M. Wt. 1·392

The date assigned is A.D. 1222–1248.

The short-cross coinage was issued by Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III, all the coins bearing the name of Henricus. For the classification, first suggested by Sir J. Evans, see his paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1865; and also a paper on *A find of Silver Coins at Colchester*, by H. A. Grueber in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

HENRY III

A.D. 1248—A.D. 1272.

OBV. Head facing, crowned. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by hand which holds sceptre on left.

REV. Long cross voided, pellet in centre, each limb ending in two pellets; three pellets in each angle. Around, inscription between two circles, divided by cross.

Moneyer:—

1. WILLƐM.

---

1. OBV. hƐNRICVSRƐX IIIP
   REV. WIL LƐM ONO [XON]
   Bodleian Library.

OBV. As previous type, but without hand and sceptre.
REV. As previous type.

See PL. XIV, 1–4.

Moneyers:—

1. ADAM.
2. ƓƐFRƐI.
3. hƐNRI.
4. WILLƐM.

---

1. OBV. ✻hƐNRICVSRƐX·IIIP
   REV. ADA MON OXO NRO
   PL. XIV, 1. B. M. Wt. 1·285

2. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREX·IIP
   Rev. ADA MON OXO HFO
   P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.

3. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREXTERCI
   Rev. ADA MON OXO HFO
   Bodleian Library.

4. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREX : IIP
   Rev. GEF REI ONO XON
   C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·342

5. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREXTERCI
   Rev. GEF REI OHO XOH
   Pl. XIV, 2. C. L. Stainer. Wt. 1·505

6. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREXIIP
   Rev. hEM RIO NO XON
   Pl. XIV, 3. B. M. Wt. 1·337

7. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREXIIP
   Rev. hEN RIO NO XON
   Bodleian Library.

8. Obv. ✻hENRICVSREXIIP
   Rev. WIL LEM ONO XON
   Pl. XIV, 4. B. M. Wt. 1·332

The moneyers are Adam Feteplace, Gaufridus de Stocwille, Henricus Simeonis and Willelmus Sarsorius.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Æthelstan, B. M. Type V, page 1. Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 1893, has:—

OBV. + ÆÐELSTANREXTOBRIT
REV. + ÆÐELMVND MO OXVR

From the description, this penny evidently had a cross of four pellets on the field of the obverse. This moneyer's name appears in the two succeeding reigns.

Cnut, B. M. Type VIII, page 28. B. M. 480 seems to be the same as no. 28.

When the bust on the obverse is described as 'dividing the legend' and no such division is shown in the text, the reader will understand that the legend begins on the left side of the bust and ends on the right side. The description is more convenient than accurate.

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15	·972	23	1·490
16	1·036	24	1·555
17	1·101	25	1·620
18	1·166	26	1·684
19	1·231	27	1·749
20	1·296	28	1·814

[1] *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II, p. 542.

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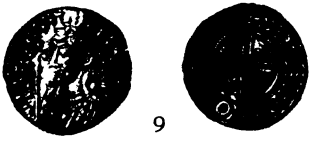
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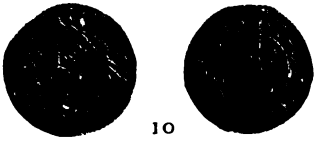
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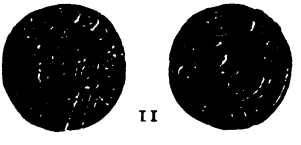
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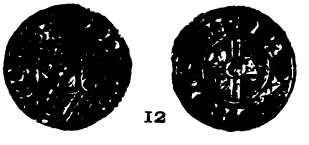
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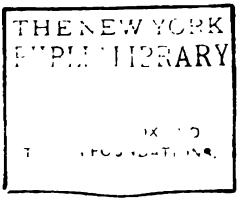
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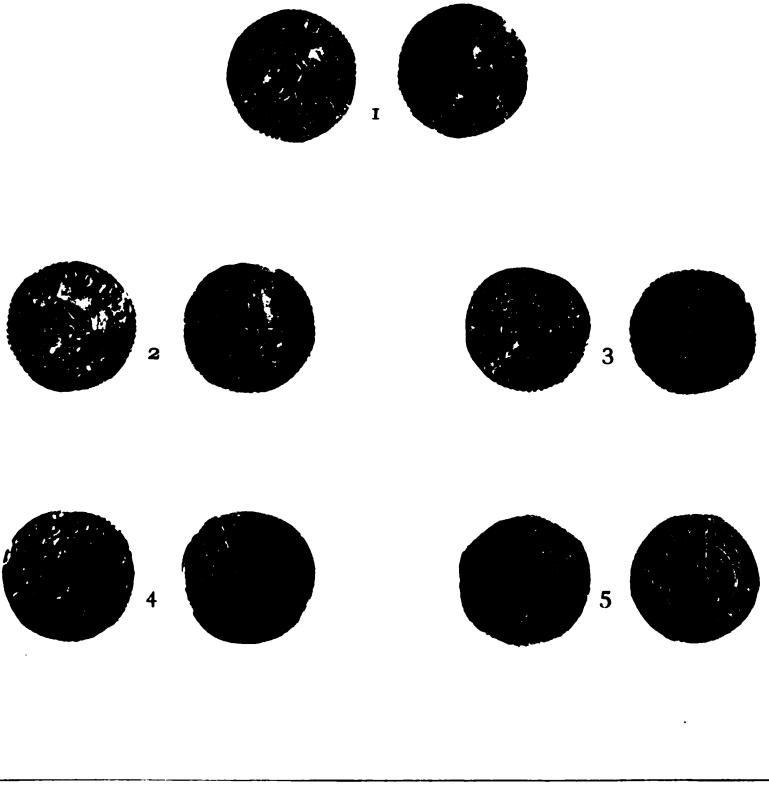

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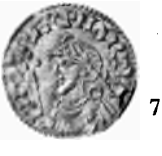
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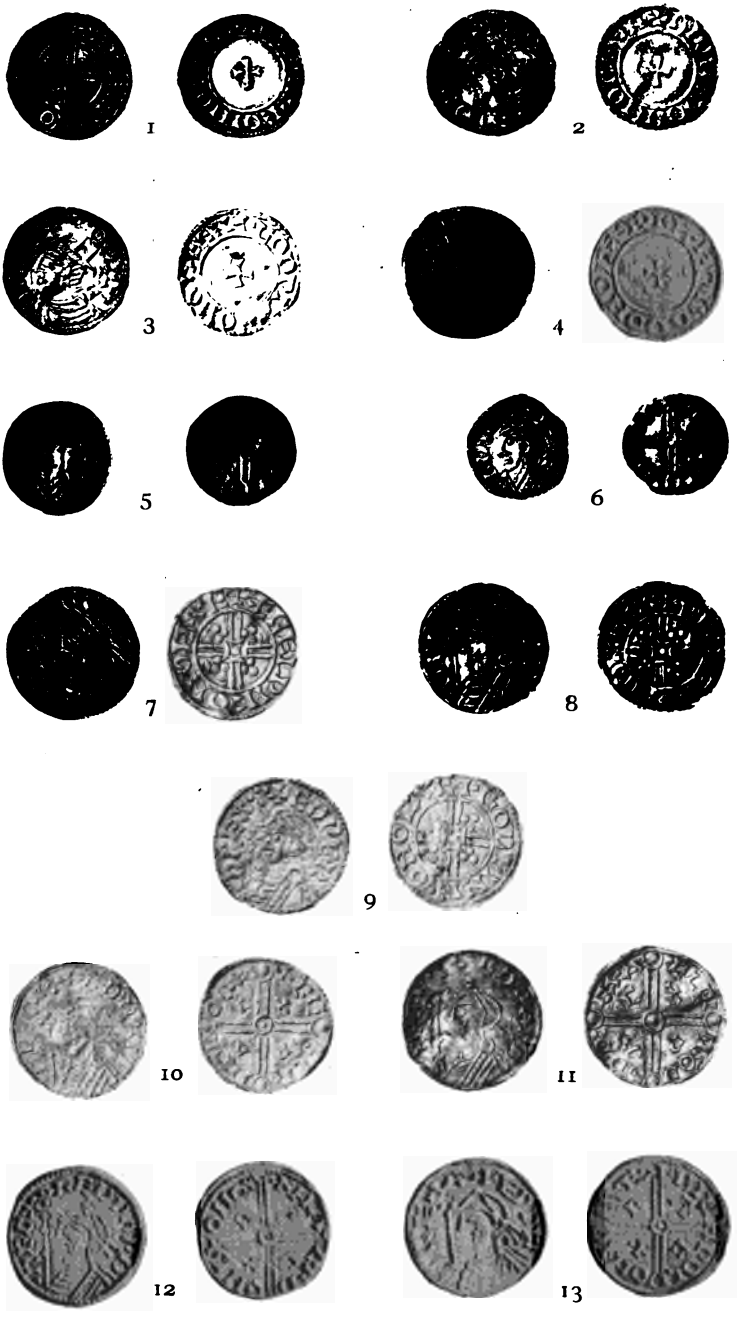

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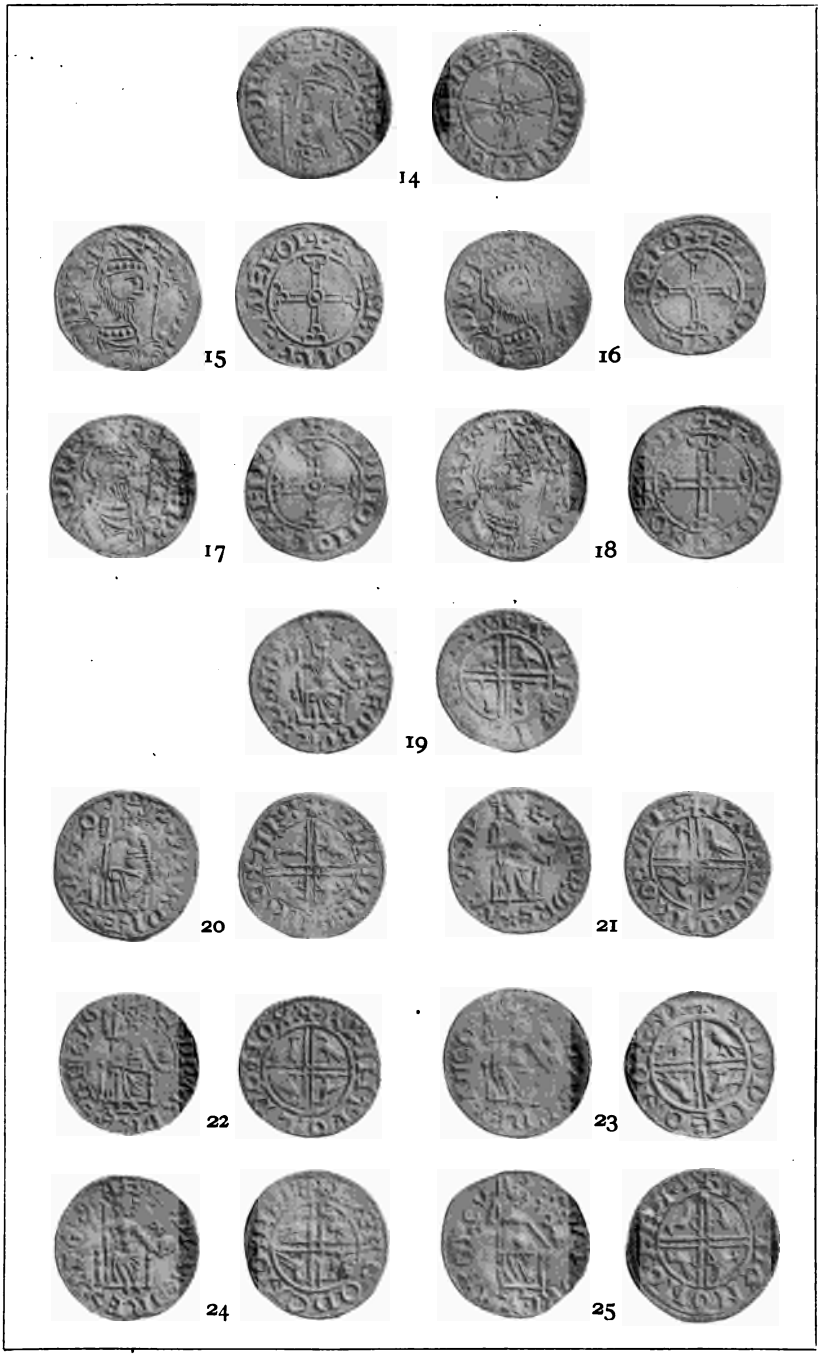

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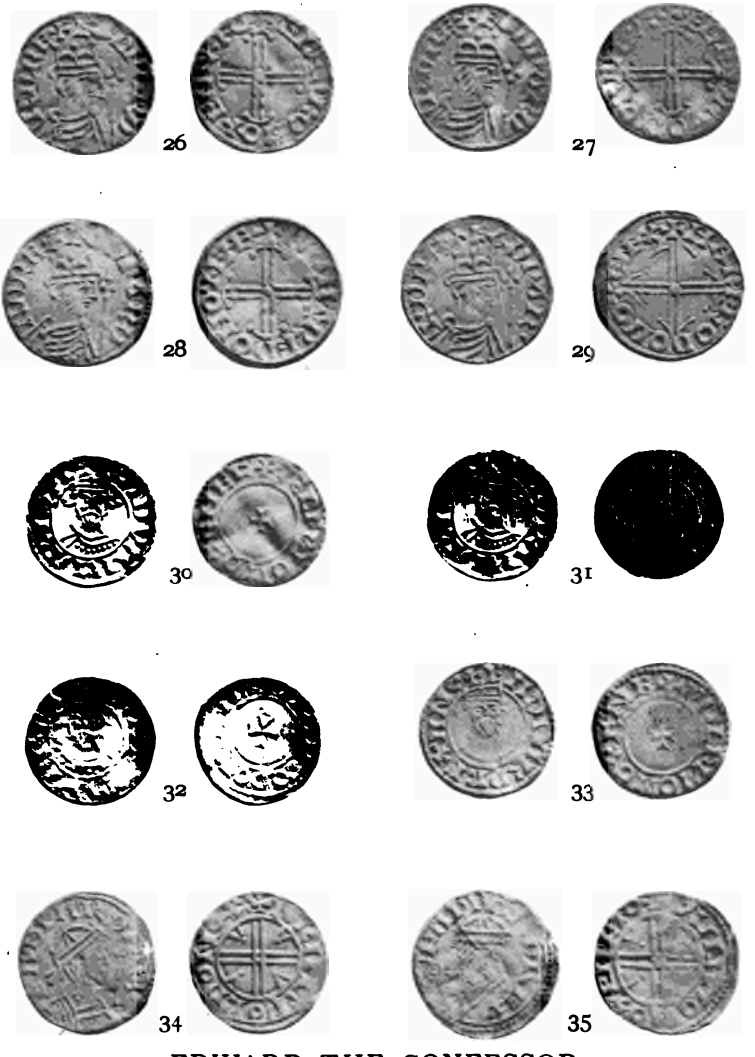

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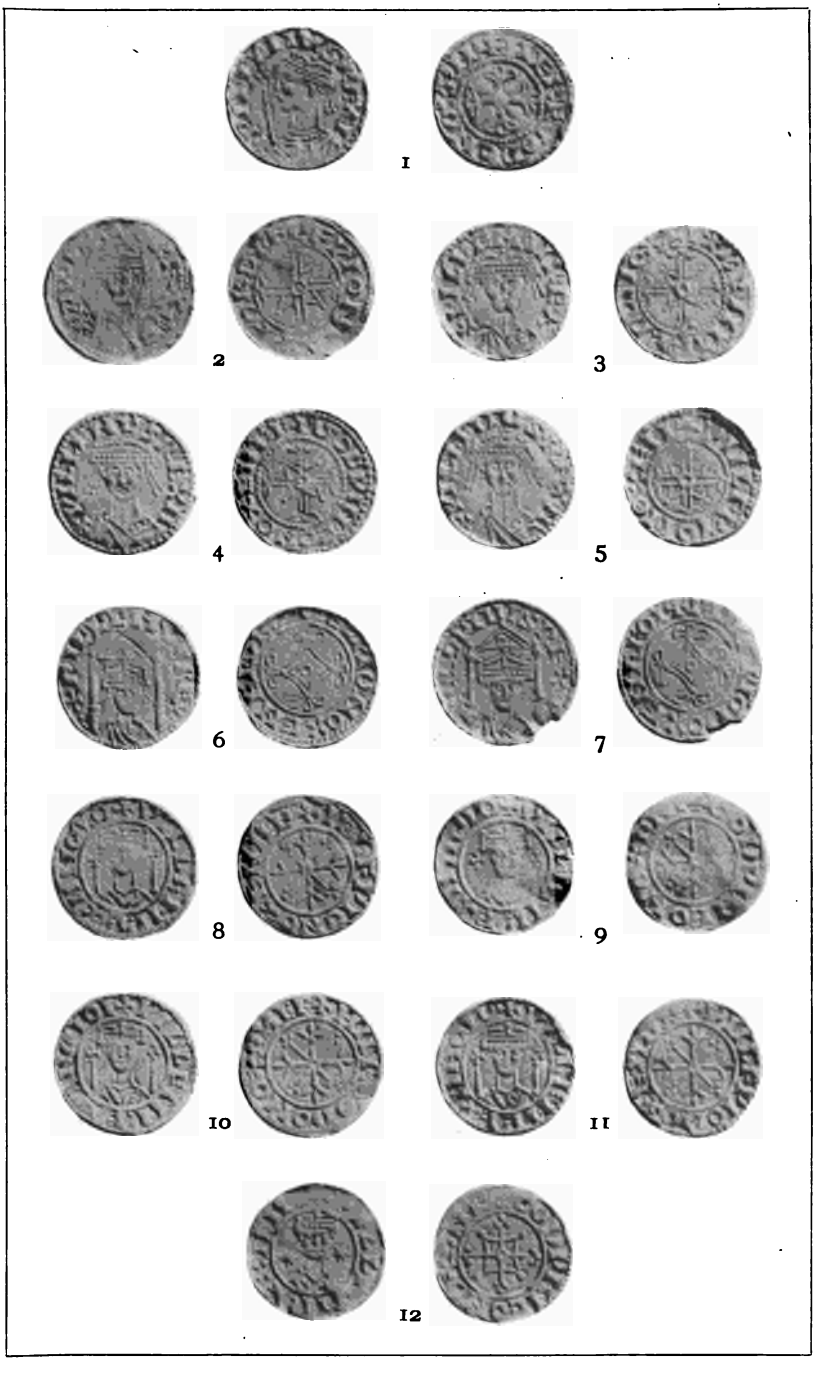

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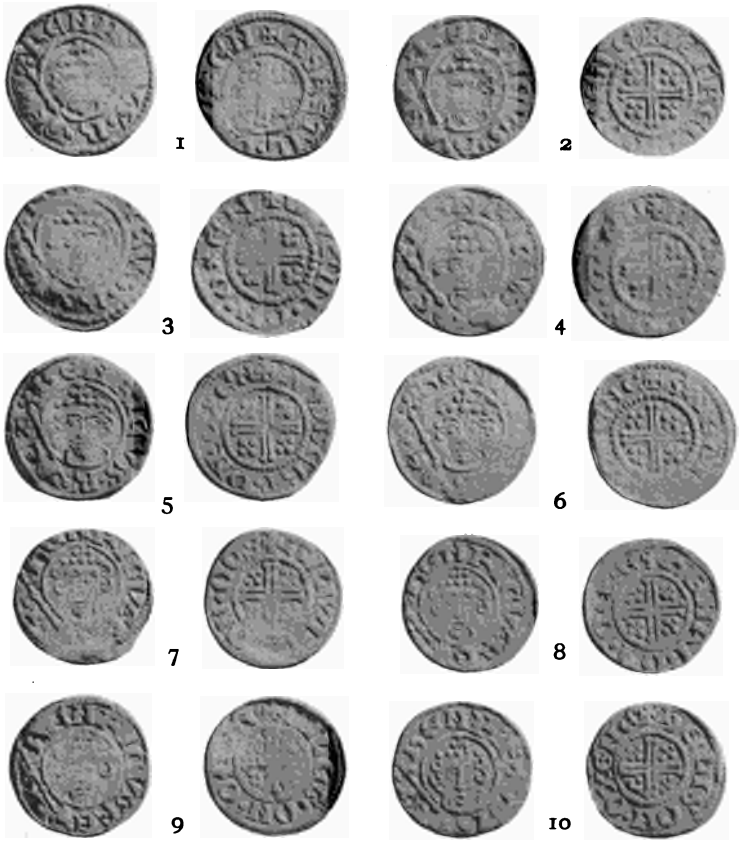

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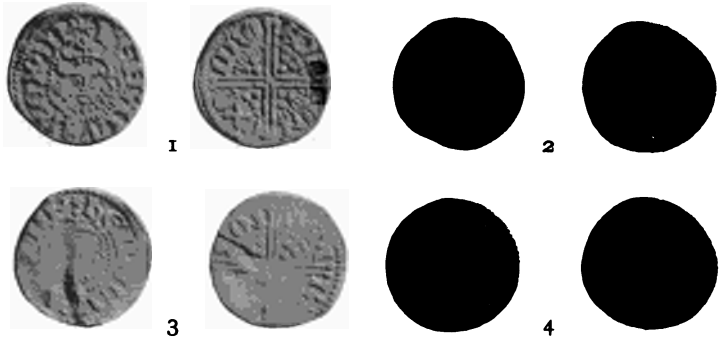

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